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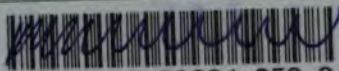
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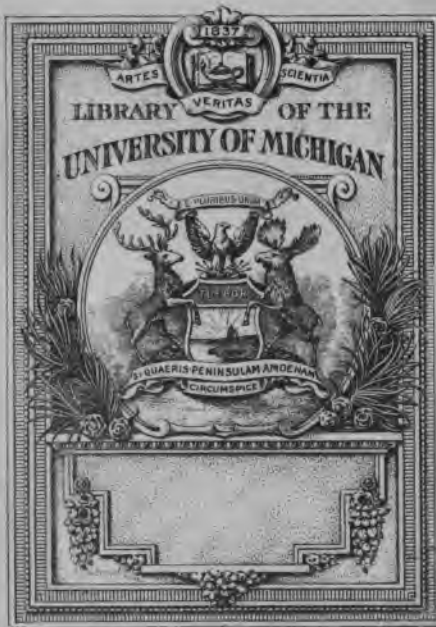


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University of Michigan - BUHR

CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE
HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH
GUTTURALS.

BY
HENRY CECIL WYLD, B.LITT.,
Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

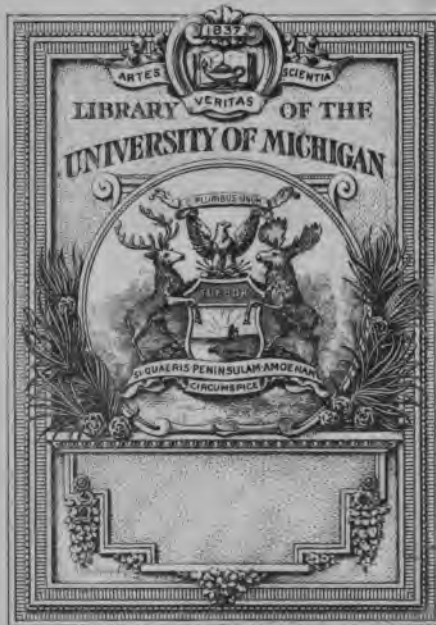
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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

I am indebted to Professor Napier for several valuable corrections and suggestions connected with my paper, and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for the time and trouble he has bestowed upon my work while in proof. In the subjoined list of emendations I have added (N.) after each remark which Mr. Napier suggested. For all other slips or errors throughout the work which are left uncorrected, I alone am responsible.

July, 1899.

H. C. W.

- Page 9. "These forms (in *-einte*) are not particularly early," etc. Adreintum, suffocato, and acweinte, compressit; occur in a gloss of eleventh century, shortly to be published by Mr. Napier. (N.)
- „ 9. After words "Ruthwell Cross, circ. 680," add (?). (N.)
- „ 10 (bottom of page). "cū often appears as ciu"; read 'sometimes.' (N.)
- „ 12. Domesday spellings do not yield much evidence one way or the other, as they are those of foreign scribes. (N.)
- „ 13, line 12. For seccan read secean.
- „ 13, line 31. The spelling bischop is noted by Reimann in his dissertation on the Hatton Gospels.
- „ 14, line 14. "k apparently is not used at all." This is an error. (N.) k is rare in Vespas, A. 22, but occurs occasionally, e.g. in the word 'king' several times, on pp. 231, 233, and 235, etc. (Morris, "O.E. Homilies," 1st series).
- „ 16. Delete 'workinde,' line 15, and 'swinken,' line 17.
- „ 19, line 20. "before O.E. *æ* = Germ. *a*," etc.; for *æ* read *a*.
- „ 22. The form hiniongæ cannot be explained as due to a scribal error. The fronted form occurs in Durham Book. (N.) Cf. Cook's Glossary, p. 92. The fronting awaits explanation.
- „ 23, line 22. For 'doubtless' read 'possibly.'
- „ 24. "Pronunciation of M.E. g, ȝ." ȝ had disappeared (in pronunciation at least) already in O.E. after front vowels, and even when written often does not imply a consonantal sound. Cf. O.E. swegn = O.N. svein. (N.) I have already pointed out that even Epinal has snel (p. 20, l. 38).
- „ 26, last line. Read Lady Margaret Hall.
- „ 35. Another example of *h* + open consonant becoming *c* in O.E. is weocsteall = weohsteall, for which form see Napier, "Engl. Stud.," xi, p. 64. (N.)
- „ 35, etc. It should be distinctly understood that in the lists which follow two distinct phenomena are illustrated: (1) The stopping of ȝ and *h* before open consonants; (2) the unfronting of *c* and *cȝ* before open consonants.
- „ 56. Werchte has been by a slip included in the Kentish Gospels list of *-rch* words. *ch* in this word represents of course the voiceless open consonant.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GUTTURAL SOUNDS IN ENGLISH.

By HENRY CECIL WYLD, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April 14, 1899.*]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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THE following is a study and history of four classes of English sounds:—

1. Old Engl. *c*. Back (guttural) and front (palatal).
2. Old Engl. *ɣ*. Back and front.
3. Old Engl. *cɣ*.
4. Old Engl. *h*. Back and front.

All these sounds are here considered only as occurring medially and finally. My remarks are based upon an extensive collection of forms which I have culled with no little labour from O.E. and M.E. texts, and from modern dialect glossaries. My collections of Literary English words are from Professor Skeat's larger Etymological Dictionary. I shall discuss the pronunciation of the sounds which I have mentioned in O.E., and it will be seen that in several points I venture to differ from the commonly received views of Messieurs Kluge, Sievers, and Bülbring. I shall then investigate the M.E. forms of O.E. *c*, *ɣ*, *cɣ*, etc., as they appear in the most important texts of M.E. For this purpose the word-lists are arranged chronologically and geographically, so as to show at once the historical development of the sounds, and their distribution in the various M.E. dialects. With regard to the modern dialects, the arrangement is chiefly geographical, beginning with the North and working down to the extreme South of England. The order of the lists is as far as possible from west to east.

I have also added other lists which show at a glance in which dialects of Modern English many of the most important words of the above-mentioned four classes occur. A special feature of the

paper is the explanation which I venture to offer of the so-called 'irregular' or 'Northern' forms, such as 'seek,' 'think,' 'hagthorn,' 'heckfer,' 'to lig = to lie,' etc., etc. (See p. 119.)

I cannot but think that in the main the law here formulated must be accepted, though it is of course inevitable that many of my applications of it will be disputed, and that opinions will differ as to the exact geographical area over which it obtained.

In conclusion, I have to thank Professors Napier and Wright for their kindness and courtesy at all times in giving me valuable advice and suggestions. To Dr. Sweet I owe far more than I can adequately set down here; not only have I had the privilege of a training in practical phonetics from him, but I have also enjoyed the advantage of frequent private discussion with him of every part of my work in the course of its carrying out.

Oxford, April, 1899.

LIST OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS USED IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.

SCOTCH AND NORTHERN TEXTS.

Barbour's Bruce, 1330.
 Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.
 Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522.
 Complaynt of Scotland, 1549.

Metrical Psalter, Yrks., before 1300.
 Cursor Mundi, Yrks., 1300.
 Minot, Yrks., 1333-52.
 Prick of Conscience, Yrks., before 1349.
 Sir Gawayn, Northern, 1360.
 Townley Mysteries, Yrks., 1450.
 Northern Glossary (Wright-Wülcker, xviii), fifteenth century.
 Wars of Alexander, Yrks., late fifteenth century.
 Catholicon, Yrks., 1483.
 Manipulus, Yrks., 1570.

MIDLAND TEXTS.

Alliterative Poems, Lancashire, 1360.
 Metrical Romances, Lancs., 1420.

Ormulum, Lincs., 1200.
 Havelok the Dane, N.E. Midland, 1300.
 Robert of Brunne, 1338.

Hali Meidenbed, W. Midl., 1225.
 William of Palerne, W. Midl., 1350.
 Earliest Prose Psalter, W. Midl., 1375.
 Myrc, Shropshire, 1400.

MS. Harl. 2253 (Bödeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen*), Herefordshire, 1310.
 A Worcester Glossary (Wright-Wülcker, xiii), twelfth century.
 Lagamon, Worcs., 1205.
 Guy of Warwick, thirteenth century.
 Songs and Carols (Wright, Warton Club, 1856), Warwickshire, 1400.
 Palladius on Husbandrie, Essex, 1420.
 Peterborough Chronicle, 1122-1154.
 Bestiary, E. Midl., before 1250.
 Genesis and Exodus, E. Midl., 1250.
 Returns of Norfolk Guilds, 1389.
 Wills and Inventories, Norfolk, fifteenth century.
 Promptorium, Norfolk, 1440.
 Bokenham's Poems, Suffolk, before 1447.
 Wicliffe. E.E.T.S., 1880.
 Chaucer. Skeat's ed., six vols.
 Political Songs. Wright, Rolls Series, 1859-61; 2 vols.

SOUTHERN TEXTS.

St. Katherine, Gloucestershire, 1200.
 Robt. of Gloucester, 1300.
 St. Juliana (Metrical Life), Gloucestershire, 1300.
 Piers Plowman, 1363-93.

Sir Ferumbras, Devon, 1380.

St. Editha, Wilts, 1400.

St. Juliana (Prose Life), Dorset, 1200.
 Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.
 Wooing of our Lord, Dorset, 1210.
 Ancren Riwe, Dorset, 1225.
 Owle and Nightingale, Dorset, 1246-50.

Sir Beves of Hamtoun, Hants, 1327.
 Usages of Winchester, Hants, 1360.

Kentish Gospels, 1150.
 Kentish Homilies (Vespas, A. 22), 1200.
 Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.
 Moral Ode (MS. Digby, 4), Kent, early thirteenth century.
 Kentish Sermons, 1200-50.
 William of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.
 Ayenbite of Inwyt, Kent, 1340.
 Libeaux Desconus, Kent, 1350.

LIST OF MODERN DIALECTS, WITH AUTHORS OF GLOSSARIES
HERE USED.

- Northumberland, Heslop, 1892-4.
 Cumberland, Dickinson, 1878-81.
 Westmoreland, Wheeler, 1802; Westmoreland and Cumberland, 1839.
 Durham (Hetton-le-Hole), Palgrave, 1896; Teesdale Glossary, 1849.
- Yorkshire { W. Yrks. (Cleveland), Atkinson, 1869-76.
 N. Yrks. (Swaledale), Harland, 1873.
 N.E. Yrks. (Whitby), Robinson, 1876.
 N. Mid. Yrks. (Windhill), Wright, 1893.
 Mid. Yrks. , Robinson, 1876.
 W. Yrks. (Almondsbury and Huddersfield), Easther, 1883.
 S.W. Yrks. (Sheffield), Addy, 1888-90.
- Lancashire, Nodall and Milner, 1875-82.
 Cheshire, Holland, 1884-6; South Cheshire, Darlington, 1887.
 Derbyshire, Pegge, Skeat, Hallam.
- Lincolnshire { N. Lincs., Sutton, 1881.
 N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.
 S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.
- Shropshire, Jackson, 1879; Salopia Antiqua, Hartshorne, 1841.
 Staffordshire, Poole, 1880.
 Leicestershire, Evans, 1881.
 Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.
 Norfolk, Rye (East Anglia, 1895); Spurdens, 1879; Cosens-Hardy, 1893;
 Nall, 1866.
- Herefordshire, Havergal, 1887.
- Worcestershire { Upton-on-Severn, Lawson, 1884.
 W. Wrcs., Chamberlaine, 1882.
 S.E. Wrcs., Salisbury, 1894.
- Warwickshire, Northall, 1896.
 Northamptonshire, Baker, 1854.
 Bedfordshire, Batchelor, 1809 (Glossary at end of "An Orthoëpical Analysis
 of the English Language").
 Suffolk, Moore, 1823.
 Gloucestershire, Robertson, 1890.
 Oxfordshire, Parker, 1876-81.
 Berkshire, Lowsley, 1888.
 Essex, Charnock, 1880; Clarke, Tales in Essex Dialect.
 W. Somersetshire, Elworthy, 1886.
 Wiltshire, Dartnell and Goddard, 1893; Akerman, 1842.
 Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1876-93.
 Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.
- Cornwall { W. Cornwall, Courtney.
 E. Cornwall, Couch.
 Cornish Glossary, Monthly Mag., 1809.
 " " Journ. of Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1864,
 Garland; another in same place by Couch; Cornish Tales,
 Tregelles.
- Devon, Hewett, 1892; (Harland) Chope, 1891; Exmoor Scolding.
 Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Hampshire, Cope, 1883.
 Isle of Wight, Smith, 1881; Long, 1886.
 Sussex, Cooper, 1853; Parish, 1879.

OTHER DICTIONARIES, GLOSSARIES, AND CHIEF WORKS
 USED.

- English Dialect Dictionary*, A to Dinner, Wright.
Grose, Provincial Glossary, 1811.
Ray, Collection of North Country Words (1691): Pt. iii, Reprinted Glossaries, ed. Skeat, E.D.S., 1874.
White Kennet (Bp.), Parochial Antiquities (with Glossary at end), Oxford, 1695.
Skeat's Reprinted Glossaries—Thanet by Lewes. | Gloss'ter by Marshall.
 Norfolk, Marshall. | Yorks, Marshall.
 Yorks, Willon. | W. Devon, Marshall.
 Thoresby's Letter to Ray.
 Glossary to Burns' Works, Henley, 1897. (In Vol. IV.)
Bp. Percy's Folio MS., 1867-68, Hales and Furnivall (Gloss in Vol. IV).
Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 3rd ed., 1855.
Nares' Glossary, ed. Halliwell, 1859.
Dictionary of English Plant-Names, Britten and Holland, E.D.S., 1878-86.
Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Bosworth-Toller.
Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
 Middle English Dictionary, Stratman-Bradley, 1891.
 The New English Dictionary, Murray.
 Johnson's Dictionary, 1st folio ed., 1755.
 Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, 1888.
 Florio, Worlde of Wordes, 1598.
 Cotgrave-Howell, 1673.
 Minshew, Guide into Tongues (Emendatio, 2nd ed.).
 Bailey, 2nd ed., 1724.
 Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. deutschen Sprache.
 Wright-Wülcker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, 1884.
Skeat's Mæso-Gothic Glossary.
 Uhlenbeck, Kurz gefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache.
Napier { Letter in *Academy*, Feb. 22, 1890.
 { Notes on Orthography of the Ormulum, Oxford, 1893; also in *History*
 { of the Holy Rood-tree, ed. Napier, E.E.T.S., 1894.
Streitberg { Gotisches Elementarbuch, 1897.
 { Ugermanische Grammatik, 1896. (Urgerm. Gr.)
Sievers { Phonetik, 4 Aufl., 1893.
 { Angelsächsische Grammatik, 3 Aufl., 1898. (A.S. Gr.)
Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik, 1st part, 1896. (M.E. Gr.)
Sweet { History of English Sounds, 1888. (H.E.S.)
 { Oldest English Texts: Facsimile of Epinal Glossary.
 { Anglo-Saxon Reader, 7th ed., 1894. (A.S. Reader.)
 { Primer of Phonetics.
Paul, Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, Bd. i, 1891. (Grundr.)
Paul und Braune, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur.
 (P.B.B.)
 Cook, A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels, 1894.

- Lindelöf, Glossar zur altnorth. Evangelienübersetzung in der Rushworthhandschrift, 1897.
- Ten Brink*, Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, 2 Aufl., Kluge, 1899. (Chaucer's Spr.)
- Brate*, Nordische Lehnwörter in Ormulum (in P.B.B., x).
- Kluge*, Geschichte der Englischen Sprache (in Grundr., pp. 781-90), cited by page.
- Bülbring*, Beiblatt zur Anglia: July-August, 1898, and February, 1899.
- Skeat*, List of Books illustrating English Dialects, 1873-75. (E.D.S.)
- Wright*, Englische Mundarten, Grundr., Bd. i, p. 975.
(These last two works are invaluable as bibliographical guides.)
- Brandl*, M.E. Literaturgeschichte, in Grundr., ii, pp. 609-718.

I.

O.E. *e*.

O.E. *e* corresponds to Germanic **k*, Indo-Germanic **g*. O.E. *céosan*, Goth. *kisan*, Gk. *γεῖω*; O.E. *ǣc*, O.Icel. *þak*, Lat. *tego*; O.E. *cyn*, Goth. *kuni*, Gk. *γένος*, etc. O.E. *e* occurs initially, medially, and finally; it may stand before all vowels, and before *l*, *n*, *r*.

e in O.E. is the symbol both of a back (guttural) and of a front (palatal) sound.

Before a primitive back vowel *e* was a back stop consonant in O.E., and also before *y*, *e*, *æ*, etc. = Germ. **u*, *-o*, *á*, with *i*-umlaut; and before consonants such as *l*, *r*, etc.

On the other hand, *e* was fronted before original front vowels, *i*, *e*, etc., before Germ. **j*, and when final, after front vowels (Sweet, H.E.S., § 539, but cf. § 74). In O.E. itself the **j* has disappeared, leaving its mark, however, by fronting a preceding back vowel. Thus *bóc* has dat. sing. and n. pl. *béc* = **bóki*, **bókiz* (cf. Streitberg, Urgerm. Gr., p. 249). The *ó* here is fronted to *é* through the medium of the **k*, O.E. *béc* therefore must have had a fronted *e*, and that this was actually the case is proved by the M.E. forms *bæch* (Mk. i, 2), *bech* (Lk. iii, 4), in Kentish Gospels, MS., Hatton, 38, circ. 1150, where *-ch* = O.E. fronted *e*. (Fronted *e* will henceforth be written *é*.) The best test of the front character of an O.E. *e* is its appearance as *ch* in Middle and Modern English. See on above, Sweet, H.E.S., p. 143, and A.S. Reader (7th ed., § 110-20); Kluge, Paul's Grundr., Bd. i, pp. 836-40; Sievers, A.S. Gr., §§ 206, 207.

Pronunciation.

With regard to *c*, there seems no reason for doubting that it had the character of a back-stop consonant in O.E., in all cases where that sound is found in the Modern English equivalents *bóc* 'book,' *lócian* 'look,' *drinkan* 'drink,' *smoca* 'smoke,' *stracian* 'to stroke,' etc.

The question of the pronunciation of *c* is much more difficult to determine, and opinion is divided on the subject. On one point everyone is agreed, namely, that *c* was clearly distinguished in sound from *c*; the question which awaits settlement is, had O.E. *c* the sound of Engl. *ch*, i.e. a point-teeth-stop consonant followed by a blade-point-open consonant, or had it some sound intermediate between this and the back stop?

Kluge's view is clearly expressed in *Grundr.*, p. 839, where he says:—"Im Süden ist *c* seit dem 10 Jahrh. in der Palatisierung (*tʃ*) [that is our *ch* sound] vorangeschritten. Zunächst ist gewiss *kj*, *tj*, für *c* eingetreten." He cites cases of the spelling *cȝ* for *tȝ*, e.g.: *orceard*, *Cur.-Past.*, 487, for *ortȝeard*; *muncȝiu*, *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 152 = *muntȝuw*, etc.; *feccan* from *fetian* (*Platt*, *Angl.* 6, 177). From these spellings Kluge infers the pronunciation '*tj*' for O.E. *c*. The pronunciation *tʃ* for M.E. *ch* must, he thinks, have arisen early, in support of which view he adduces M.E. *etch* = O.E. *edisċ*, and Mod. Engl. French for *frenciċ*, M.E. *worċhip* = O.E. *wurþsċipe*, etc. No less categorical is the statement of Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 206 (4):—"Die palatalen verschlusslaute *c* und (*c*)ȝ sind offenbar bereits ziemlich frühe zu palatalen affricaten d. h. lauten von dem Klange der neuengl. *ch* und *dg* (also annähernd *tʃ* und *dʒ* geworden). Dies ergibt sich aus den formen wie *orceard*, *feccean* (neuengl. *orchard*, *fetch*), etc."

Bülbring, in a most valuable article which just appeared (in "Beiblatt zur *Anglia*," February, 1899), "Was lässt sich aus dem gebrauch der buchstaben *k* und *c* im *Mattäus-Evangelium* des *Rushworth-Manuscripts* folgern?", expresses his views as follows: "Die thatsache, dass *Farman* seinen gebrauch des *c* und *k* im anlaut nach dem Lateinischen geregelt hat, ist nicht ohne wert für die bestimmung des lautwertes des ae. *c* zu seiner Zeit und in seiner Mundart. Nicht nur sieht man, dass er sich deutlich eines Unterscheides zwischen dem anlaut z.b. von *ciken* und *kinging* bewusst war; sondern es muss eine gewisse ähnlichkeit der

aussprache des *c*. z. b. in ae. *cerdem* und lat *certum* gewesen sein, die ihn zu der oben dargelegten unterscheidung brachte. Da er das lat *c* vor palatalen vokalen wie (*ts*) sprach, so muss er das ae. *ċ* ebenfalls dental gesprochen haben, d. h. ganz oder ungefähr wie ne. (*tš*)."

(See, however, Bülbring's remarks in *Anglia* Beiblatt, July-August, 1898, at bottom of p. 74, where the distinction is very clearly drawn between "palatalization and subsequent dentalization," etc., with which I largely agree.)

As against above views, Sweet has always maintained that O.E. *ċ* was a front-stop consonant (see H.E.S., § 496, and A.S. Reader, Introduction, § 120). This view, which I believe to be the only sound one, has hardly been stated by Sweet himself with sufficient cogency, and has perhaps on this account been pretty generally ignored by other scholars. By a front stop is simply meant a stop formed with that part of the tongue which is used in forming the (German) *j*-sound. This latter sound is in fact the front-open-voice consonant, the voiceless form of it being the final sound in German 'ich.' In forming the front stops the middle or 'front' part of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate just behind the alveolars, the effect being that of a kind of *t* or *d*, according to whether there is voice or not. When the stop is opened a *j*-like off-glide is heard, and it is this off-glide that gives the sound its very characteristic 'colour.' These stops are heard in Sw. *kyssa*, *kenna*; Russ. *дядя*, 'uncle,' and *мать*, 'mother.' I submit the following reasons for considering the several contentions (which, indeed, vary slightly) of Messrs. Kluge, Sievers, and Bülbring untenable:—

Firstly. The process of passing from a back or even perhaps a root-stop consonant to a point-teeth stop + a blade-point-open (which is practically what the above scholars mean by such symbols as *tš*, etc.), must of necessity be a very long one.

Secondly. O.E. *ċ* is constantly doubled, and there would be no reason for doubling what is already a complex sound. Thus, if O.E. *ċ* = *tš*, O.E. *ċċ* must = either *tštš* or *tštš*, which are unpronounceable combinations. *ċ* must therefore have been a single, simple sound.

Thirdly. If O.E. *ċ* had really become a double sound it could not possibly have become *k*, as we know it did in certain combinations, cf. M.E. *sekþ* = O.E. *seċþ*. To suppose that *ċ* had got over all the stages from *k* to point-teeth *t*, had also developed the

sh sound after it, and could then suddenly go right back to *k* again, is surely unreasonable.

Fourthly. M.E. forms like *bleinte*, *quainte*, *seinte* = O.E. *blenċte*, *cwenċte*, *senċte*, could only have been produced by the influence of a front stop. These forms are not particularly early (I have found more in R. of Glos., 1300, than in any other text), and they seem to show that *ċ* remained a front stop pure and simple until well into the M.E. period. Had O.E. *ċ* already = *tš*, it seems to me inconceivable that the *-eint* forms could ever have arisen at all. This diphthongizing process will be discussed later on in considering the fate of *ċ* in M.E.

The well-worn arguments based on *orceard*, *feccan*, etc., which appear regularly in all discussions of this question, are surely entirely without cogency, and the spellings tell quite as much in favour of the front-stop theory as of the other. Putting aside the fact that the identity of *fetian* and *feccan* is doubtful, it would be quite sound to suppose that the combination *fj* or *tj* of *fetian* had been assimilated to a simple consonant, and that a front stop. This process is a common one, and Russian, for instance, has many examples of it. *няня*, 'nurse,' is not pronounced *nia nia* or *nja nja*, but with a front nasal followed by *-a*; *дядя*, 'uncle,' does not = *dia dia* or *dja dja*, but front-stop voice followed by *-a*.

I have insisted thus strongly on the nature of O.E. *ċ*, because the phenomena which meet us in inquiring into the subsequent history of this sound are to me unintelligible on any other assumption than the one I have endeavoured to justify.

Graphical Distinction between O.E. c and ċ.

The earliest linguistic monuments of O.E. are the Runic inscriptions. Of these the most important are the Bewcastle inscription (Cumberland), circ. 670, and the Ruthwell Cross (Dumfriesshire), circ. 680. There are three different Runic symbols for the *c*, *ċ* sounds, which represent perhaps the front *ċ*, the front variety of the back stop, and the back-stop normal position. The following list gives all the examples of each variety that occur in Viator's "Die Northumbrischen Runensteine," 1895. Viator transliterates the Runic symbols by *c*, *ċ*, and *k*, *c* being front and

e back, but in the present list I shall use *e* for the front stop, as throughout this paper, *c* for the back stop, and *k* for the modification of the so-called *gár* rune.

Words with e—Alcfripu, Bew.
 Beçun, Leeds.
 Cypbercht, Lanc.
 Cynibalþ, Lanc.
 Kyniqc, Ru.
 Liçes, gen. sing., Ru.
 Riçæs, gen. sing., adj., Bew.
 Riçnæ, ac. sing., Ru.
 Sigbeçun, Bew.
 Ic, Ru.

On the *e* in these words see also Bülbring, *Anglia Beiblatt*, July-August, 1898, p. 74.

Words with c—Becun, Thornhill.
 Crist, Ru.
 Cristtus, Bew.
 Cwomu, Ru.
 Cyniburug, Bew.

Words with k—Kyniq, Bew., acc. sing.
 Kynige, Ru.
 Uqket, pron. dual acc., Ru.

c and e in the MS.

The early glossaries do not distinguish between *c* and *e* in any consistent manner. In the *Corpus Gloss* (Sweet, *Oldest E T.*) I can only find that *k* occurs twice: *kylle*, 231, *kaelið*, 1119. This gloss is early eighth century. The *Epinal* does not seem to have any example of *k* at all in English words. *c* is used in these glossaries both for the back and front sound, before all vowels. *Ep.* and *Erfurt* occasionally write *-ci* for the latter sound, as *birciae*, 'birch,' *Ep.* 792 and *Erf.* 1609; *Erf.* also has *ciae* 240, 'a chough'; *Ep.* at same place writes *chyaie*.

In West Saxon there is a pretty regular diphthongization of primitive front vowels after *e* in the later texts, and before *a* and *o* an *e* is written, while *eu* often appears as *ciu*—*drencium*, *eciium*, etc. (See *Sievers, Angls. Gr.*, § 206, p. 103.) In Kentish

and Mercian *ɔ* does not diphthongize. Kt., Merc. *e* = W.S. *æ*, but Northumbrian (Rushw. and Lindisfarne) hesitates between *æ* and *ea*. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 157, 3.) In *Beowulf* *kyning* occurs four times with *k*, in lines 619, 665, 2,335, and 3,170; these are the only cases of *k* in the whole poem. In *Cura Pastoralis* *k* is used in both MSS., but by far the greater number of the words in which it occurs appear in other parts of the text, often on the same page, with *c*. The following is a list of all the cases I have found of *k* in this text as printed by Mr. Sweet (E.E.T.S., xlv and l.) The numbers refer to the page in Mr. Sweet's edition. I have not always thought it worth while to say whether a word which occurs several times on a page is always in the same case; thus, on p. 2 we have *kyning* and *kynings*, but the reference is simply 'kyning 2 (twice).'

Cotton MS. has *k* (initially) in the following words: *kyning* 2 (twice), 8, 32 (twice), 36, 38 (twice), 84, 90, 110, 112, 120, 144, 182, 186, 196, 252, 374; *kyðan* 2; *kyðde* 146, (*gekyðde*) 150; *kyðonne* 300, 310; *angelkynne* 2, 6 (twice); *kynn* 84; *kynelic* 84 (five times); *akolige* 150; *kræft* 152; *karcernu* 204; *kyclum* (darts) 296; *koka* (Cooks' gen. pl.) 310 (three times); *kolossensum* 310. Medially *k* appears but rarely; the cases are: *gioke* 196, 200; *koka* (see above); *ascoke* (shake) 310.

The Hatton MS. has the following examples of *k* initially: *kyning* 3 (twice), 9, 37, 39, 85, 91, 111, 113, 121, 145, 183, 197, 253, 375, 393 (twice); *kynerices* 6; *kyðað* 21; *kyðanne* 306, 363; *gekyðð* 359; *keled* 57 (Cott. aled); *kynelicne* 85 (three times); *kynn* 85, 353; *kenning* 97; *kystig* 149, 327; *kristes* 213, 317, 323; *kelnesse* 309; *koka* 311 (three times); *akenned* 313; *kynrena*, *kycglum* 297; *kokke*, *kokkum* 459; *kok* 459, 461; *kylle* 469 (twice). Of medial *k* I have found the following examples: *geoke* 197; *gioke* 201; *koka* 311; *ascoke* 311; *ðicke* 329; *fordikige* 361, 383; *æker* 411; *kokke* and *kokkum* 459; *murkien* 467. I have only found two examples of final *-k*: *kok* 459, 461.

Professor Bülbring (*Anglia Beiblatt*, February, 1899) has given an exhaustive account of the use of *k* in Rushworth¹.

I disagree to a great extent with Mr. Bülbring's views on the degree of 'palatalization' which took place in the North, so far as I understand his remarks on this subject in the above article, and in *Anglia Beiblatt*, July-August, 1898, p. 74, etc.; but as this subject will be discussed in another part of the present paper,

I will do no more here than say that he seems to me, on this particular point, to reason in a circle. It is assumed that in words like *sóðlice*, *cuplice*, *swilce*, etc., there was a *k*-sound in the Northern dialects. But Farman, the writer of MS. Rushworth¹, never writes one, "not even sometimes," therefore, says Mr. Bülbring, he could not have been a Northerner. Now, as the arguments in favour of the statement that Northern dialects had the back sound in above words are of the slightest possible kind (see Bülbring, pp. 75 and 291), it would be rather more reasonable to assume that *k* does not appear in these words in this Northern MS. for the simple reason that *ċ* and not *c* was pronounced in the North.

In the work known as Rushworth², *k* is not used at all. For this sound *ch* is occasionally written, as *folches*, *wlonches* (see Bülbring, pp. 75 and 291, and Lindelöf). *Michil*, etc., which occurs in the Durham Book (see Cook's Glossary), seems also to be an example of *ch* for *k*. At any rate, *ch* was a not uncommon symbol for *k* in the latest O.E. and earliest M.E. period, and we find spellings like *Chingestone* = *Kingston*, *Chemere* = *Keymer* in the Sussex Domesday Book (ed. Parish, 1886).

The spelling in Domesday Book is, however, very irregular, and *ch* is not infrequently written for *ċ*, as in *Berchlie* = *Birch*, *Berches*; *Beche* = *Beech*; *Bechingtone* = *Bechington*. *Chetel*, a tenant's name, may be either Norse *Kettil* with *c*, or Engl. *Chettle* with *ċ*. On the other hand, we find *Calvingtone* = *Chalvington*; *Cerlestone* = *Charlston*; and *Cicestre* = *Chichester* (see lists of Place and Tenant's Names, in Parish's edition).

In the Peterborough Chronicle (MS. Laud, 636, ed. Thorpe, and recently Earle) there seems to be hardly any trace of *k*, except in foreign words, before the year 1122. Under Ann. 1091 we find, however, *Kiæresburh* = *Cherbourg*, and under Ann. 1098 *útwikingan* (but *gemakian* 1102). Otherwise, so far as I can see, we find for both back and front sounds in this part of the text. With Ann. 1122, however, the handwriting changes and we now get *kyng*, *king*, etc., but *c* still is used for both sounds; thus we get *circe*, *cinnemen* (Ann. 1129). After 1135 *k* is used much more frequently, but by no means exclusively for the back sound, and we find *cursede* (1137); and, on the other hand, *makede*, *swikes* (1135), *smoked*, *snakes* (1137). The spelling *Kiæresburh* is curious, and seems to point to the fact that the French front sound of *ch*, whatever it was, differed from that

of English *ċ*, otherwise we should not find the rather strange combination *kiæ-* in a text where *k* is practically not used at all. It should be mentioned, however, that a little earlier in the same text (1096) *Campeine* occurs for 'Champagne.'

To sum up, then, we can never be absolutely certain that any given *c* in O.E. is front unless it occur in a Runic form, accompanied by diphthongization of a following vowel, or after a vowel which shows *i*-umlaut. We cannot be absolutely certain that O.E. *c* is back except (1) from etymological considerations; (2) if it be written with a guttural rune, or with a *k*. But there are many cases when we have absolutely no evidence in O.E. at all. Thus, for instance, we know that *seccan* and *sece* had *ċ*, but we cannot affirm with equal certainty that the front sound occurred in 3rd sing. *seçþ*. We may now pass to *ċ* and *c* in Middle English, and here we are on much firmer ground.

O.E. c and ċ in M.E.

In the early transition texts of twelfth century a certain confusion still prevails with regard to the spelling for O.E. *c* and *ċ*; but on the whole we may say that the use of *ch* for *ċ* is well established, and the deviations from this rule may generally be explained by the fact that many of these early texts are copied from older MSS. in which *c* is used indiscriminately. Thus, for example, in the Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38, circ. 1150), the influence of the old spelling is everywhere obvious.

In this text we have *c* = O.E. *ċ* in *secan*, Lk. xix, 10; *rice*, Lk. xix, 14; *micelen*, Lk. xi, 4; *ceastre*, *passim*; *cyldre*, Lk. xviii, 15; *wyree*, Lk. xxii, 11. *ċ* written *ch*: *chyld*, Mk. x, 24; *ꝥechure*, Joh. xv, 16; *cheapiað*, Lk. xix, 13; *chyrcan*, Mat. xvi, 18; *chikene*, Mat. xxiii, 37; *chalf*, Lk. xv, 27; *cheastre*, Mat. iv, 13. The combination *sc* is always written *sc* in this text, and to this there is but one exception, in the word *bisshop*, Joh. xi, 54. This is, so far as I can see after a careful search, the only example of this spelling in the MS., and, I believe, the earliest example yet pointed out.

Hatton, 38, has four ways of expressing back *c*: first, *k*; second, *c* or *cc*; third, *ch*; fourth, *ck*. On the whole, it is correct to say that *k* and *ck* are generally written before front vowels, *c* before consonants and back vowels. *Akenned*, Joh. ix, 20;

taken, sb., Joh. ix, 16; spræken, pret. pl., Joh. ix, 22; drinke, Mat. vi, 32; kyng, Lk. xix, 38; but lockan, dat. pl., Joh. x, 2; lickeres, Mat. xxii, 18. Examples of *c* are: werces, sb., Joh. iv, 34; cō, Lk. xix, 38; boce, Joh. xx, 30; clypeden, Mat. xxi, 19, etc. *Ch* = *k* is not of frequent occurrence, and occurs principally in foreign words, as chanan, fichtre. In the forms sicchelse (sic), Mat. xxvii, 28, sicchele, Mat. xxviii, 31, sætsóch, Lk. xxii, 57, we have also apparently *ch* = *k*. The collection of Homilies in MS. Vespas, A. 22, is also Kentish, but about fifty years later than the Hatton Gospels. The spelling of the Homilies is practically that of the Gospels, and here again the O.E. version, from which they are copied, makes its influence felt. *Ch* is used for *c*, but *c* is quite as common; *ch* also occurs for *c* in dierchin; *k* apparently is not used at all. The so-called Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), circ. 1200–50, do not present the same curious uncertainty in the use of *c* and *ch*, and the latter spelling is by this time assured for the front sound, and *k* or *ck* are almost exclusively used for the back sound, though *c* is retained before *l*, etc. Examples: child (Epiph., etc.), chold = cold (second sermon; the same word is also written schald in same sermon), speche (Epiph.), kinkriche (second sermon), seches (Epiph.); of *k* and *ck*: werkes (Epiph.), betockneþ (fifth sermon), besekeþ (second sermon), akelp = chilleth (second sermon).

Ch is also used in this text for the front open consonant, as almichti (Epiph.), bricht (Epiph.), þurch, through (second sermon). In another Kentish text of the same period or a little earlier (Vices and Virtues) the same distinction between back and front *c* is regularly made.

In the three Dorsetshire texts of this period—St. Juliana (prose version), 1200; Sawles Warde, 1210; and Ancren Riwle, 1225—*ch* is regularly written for the front sound, and *c*, *k*, or *ck* for the back. We may therefore say, that from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, there is no further doubt in most texts, as to whether, in any given case, we are dealing with the front or back sound.

Distribution of c(k) and ch in M.E.

In O.E. Germanic *k* is fronted in all dialects, in all cases where the circumstances admit of the fronting process—that is,

before original front vowels; and when it is the medium of the *i*-umlaut, probably also finally after front vowels. Under ordinary conditions this fronted *i* should become *ch* in M.E. But in M.E. we are met with the fact that whereas in the South, fronting of this consonant takes place in nearly all cases where we should expect it to occur, in North Midland and Northern texts there are many apparent anomalies, and we find forms like *seken* instead of *sechen*, *thenken* instead of *thenchen*, etc. Now, if these *k* forms occurred regularly in Northern and North Midland texts, if they were the only forms in these texts, and if the *ch* forms alone occurred in Southern texts, we should be justified in assuming that the *ch* forms were the characteristic representatives of O.E. *i* in the South, but that in North Midland and in the North, O.E. *i* was with equal regularity unfronted and made into *k*. Then we should also be justified in explaining those *k* forms which occur in Modern Standard English as Northern loan forms; the whole question would resolve itself into a question of geography, and there would be, so far as I can see, no further difficulties in connection with these *k* forms. But, unfortunately for this view, it turns out upon closer examination of the evidence, that not only are there plenty of *ch* forms in Northern texts, from a very early date in M.E., but that there are perhaps quite as many *k* forms in the South.

The evidence of the Mod. Engl. dialects is quite as striking. Certainly there are far more *k* forms in the North than in the South, but there are too many *k* forms in the latter group of dialects, and too many *ch* forms in the former, to be accounted for merely by a theory of extensive borrowing.

The theory for which I hope in the following pages to establish, at least, a very strong probability, is that the fronted and non-fronted forms existed side by side, in the same dialects, at a certain period of O.E. I shall endeavour to show what were the special conditions under which *i* became *k*. Having shown that these doublets could and did occur extensively in O.E., I shall hope to prove that there is abundant reason to believe that for a certain time both forms were retained in the Southern dialects, and that later on the Northern dialects showed a special predilection for the *-k* forms, although they retained many *-ch* forms; while in the South, although most of the *-k* forms were gradually eliminated, many survived, and still survive, alongside of the more frequent *-ch* forms.

I shall delay formulating the law for the origin of the *-k* forms, and a discussion of its application and scope, until we have passed in review all the evidence I have collected for the development of the gutturals in M.E. and the modern dialects. This final discussion will also include that of the so-called irregular developments of O.E. *cg*, *g*, and *h*, as I believe these are due to similar phonetic conditions. I shall not discuss here the irregular development of initial O.E. *č* in *kirk*, *kaff* (= chaff), etc., as we are dealing only with medial and final *č*, etc. I give here a few illustrations of the strange dialectal distribution of the *čh* and *k* forms in M.E., which the lists which follow exemplify more fully.

K forms in Southern texts: Kentish Gospels has *swinked*; *ilken*. *Vices and Virtues*: *besekeč*, *besečp*, *peinkinde*. *Ayenbite*: *awreke*, vb., *smec*, and *smac*, 'taste,' *waki*, sb., 'watch,' *azenkte*, *ilke*, *workinde*. *Libeau Desconus*: *pinkp*, pricked. *Wohunge*: *pik*, sb. *Ancr. Riwle*: *prikke*, sb., *swuc* (= 'such'), *tukeč* 'chastiseth,' *stenc* sb. *Owle and Nightingale*: *tukest*, 'twitchest.' *Sir Ferumbras* (Devon, 1380): *deke* 'ditch,' *prykic* sb., *reke* 'rich.'

Čh forms in Northern texts: *Cursor Mundi*: *rich*, adj.; *wreche*, sb. and adj.; *speche* sb., *spech* vb.; *gicche* sb. *Minot*: *fched*, 'wretche,' sb. *Allit. Poems*: *biseche* vb., *aliche* 'alike'; *dych* sb.; *pich* sb., *seche* vb., *wrech* 'vengeance.' *Catholicon*: *bechtre fagus*, a *leche medicus*, *riche copiosus*, to *teche*, etc. *Levins* (Yorks, 1570): *ache*, sb. and vb. (rhymes to *spinache*), *blache*, *bleche*, *rich*, *pich*, *ditch*, *itche*. *Dunbar*: *siche* 'such,' *streiche* adj. 'stiff,' *teich* vb. *Wars of Alexander*: *liche* 'a body,' *reche* vb. (reach). *Seche* vb., *siche* 'such.' *Havelok* (N.E. Midl.): *lich* 'like,' *ich* 'I,' *swich* 'such.'

The forms in -einte, etc.

These forms of the p.p. and pret. do not appear to be very numerous, widely spread, or to have survived much beyond the fifteenth century. I have noted only one, *adreinte*, in *Minot*; in *Brunne*, *dreynt*; in *Mirc*, *i-queynt*; in *Chaucer*, *queynt*, *dreynte*, and *bleynte*; in *St. Juliana* (metrical), *adreynte*. Most of my examples are from *Rob. of Glos.*, who has *adreit*, *adreynt*, *aseint*, *blenyte* (= *bleynte*), *dreinte*, and *dreynt*. In this text occur also the forms *adreincte*, *aseincte*, and *bleincte*. The *Leominster MS.* (Harl. 2253) has *dreynt*, *seint* (sunk), *wreint*, from **wrenchen*. *Gavin Douglas* has two examples in his poems,

drint and quent, which are perhaps the latest examples. These forms could, so far as I can imagine, only arise while O.E. *ċ* was still a front-stop consonant. They appear only before *t*. The process must have been as follows: front stop + point-teeth stop became by assimilation double, or long front stop; the preceding nasal had already been fronted, probably by the original single front stop. This heavy combination of front consonants developed a parasitic vowel after the *e* which went before it, giving *bleinōce, etc. Such a form as this might either become *bleinche or, by advancing the long-front stop to a point-teeth stop, bleinte, with subsequent pointing of the front nasal. As the ending *-te* was required by analogy, for the termination of preterites and past participles, these latter changes were those which occurred. Forms like adreynet are obviously new formations, with the vowel combination of 'dreynte,' and the consonantal peculiarity of forms like adrenkþ, etc. But in several texts the combination *-net* becomes *-ncht* without diphthongizing the preceding vowels, giving cwenchte, etc.; in this case *ċ* must have early become a blade stop, with a strong glide after it, without fronting the *n*.

M.E. -ght, etc. = *O.E.* *ċt*.

Chaucer has twight, pret. of twicchen, streight from Strecchen, prighte from *pricchen. Rob. of Glos., schrizte from *schricchen, pigt from *picchen, etc. These forms are apparently due to a desire to avoid the combination *-ċt*. The front stop is opened, to a front open consonant before a following point-teeth stop. It is possible that 'blight' in Mod. Engl. may be explained in this way. We are quite justified in assuming an O.E. vb., *bliċcan, *bleċcan; for the form 'blichenyng' = 'mildew, blight' occurs in Palladius on *Husbondrie*, while blechest and blecheþ occur in *Ayenbite* in the sense of 'to hurt, injure.'

The form blecþa 'vitiligo' occurs in the *Corpus Gloss.*, Sweet. O.E.T., 1069, p. 107, and Wright-Wülcker, 53. 28, which form, from *bleċcan, is analogous to O.E. *gicþa*, from *giċcan*. Had blecþa survived in M.E. we should have got blekþe, just as we get *zykþe* in *Promptorium*. But before the *-t* suffix O.E. *ċ* has been opened, as in *pight*, *pright*, etc. This explanation seems more satisfactory than the negative results obtained by Murray in N.E.D., who, by the way, ignores the *Corpus* form, though he doubtfully quotes 'blichenyng' from Palladius.

Pronunciation of M.E. ch, cch, etc.

The date at which O.E. *ċ* acquired its present sound of point-teeth + blade-point-open consonant, cannot be determined with precision. Most German scholars, as we have seen, attribute this pronunciation to *ċ* already in the O.E. period, and reasons against such a view have been advanced above. For Mr. Sweet's views on the question see H.E.S., pp. 193 and 291. He denies the existence of the sound in early M.E., but assumes it for late M.E., his earliest example of the spelling *-tch* being *stretche*, from Wicliffe. For a long time I practically agreed with this view, as the only earlier example of *-tch* which I knew was from Minot, who has *wretche*. I therefore assumed that the middle of the fourteenth century was the earliest period at which the existence of the present sound could be proved. I have now, however, found two examples of *tch* about a century earlier. Both are from E. Midl. texts; Genesis and Exodus (*circa* 1250) has *fetchden* (line 2,889), and the Bestiary of same date has *witches*, sb. pl., 542. This reading, which is that of the MS., is, curiously enough, relegated to a footnote by Morris, who has restored *wicches* in the text.

Another early case of *-tch* is in the Metrical Psalter (before 1300), which has *wretchednes*, Ps. 106, verse 10.

From these examples it would perhaps seem that we ought to admit that *ch* had practically its present pronunciation, at least as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. But Mr. Sweet tells me that he attaches no importance to the sporadic early spellings with *-tch* quoted above, so that the question is still an open one. I record the facts, and leave scholars to draw their own conclusions. The *-tch* spellings are in any case extremely rare, and the Promptorium is the earliest text in which they are fairly common. Here we have *latchyn*, *watche*, *wetche*, etc. Dunbar has *wretchis*, and the Complaint of Scotland has numerous spellings of the kind.

From what has been said in the foregoing section regarding the dialectal distribution of the *-ch* and *-k* forms, it follows that Kluge's remarks (Grundriss, p. 844) to the effect that O.E. *ċg*, and by implication O.E. *ċ*, never reached the assibilated stage of *-dʒe* and *-tch* in the North of England, require some modification.

O.E. *-c* was fully ultimately assibilated in the North as well as in the South, under similar conditions. There were factors, however, which in some dialects unfronted O.E. *c* before it got beyond the stage of front stop. These factors most certainly obtained in the South, so that there, at any rate, there were some *c*'s which never reached the assibilated stage.

II.

O.E. *ȝ*.

O.E. *ȝ* represents a front and a back consonant. The front variety we shall write *ȝ̊*. O.E. *ȝ* has a double origin; it = (1) Germanic **j*, Indo-Germanic **j̥* or **j̥*; (2) Germanic **g*, Indo-Germ. **gʰ*. The back form of O.E. *ȝ* = Germanic **g*, Indo-Germ. **gʰ*. Examples of the O.E. *ȝ* = Germ. *g* are O.E. *ȝósa*, O.H.G. *kans*, Lat. (h)anser, Gk. *χῆν*; cf. also O. Bulg. *gasi*, etc., O.E. *ȝát*, 'a goat,' Goth. *gaita*, Lat. *hædus*. Examples of O.E. *ȝ̊* = **j* are O.E. *ȝeoc*, Goth. *juk*, Lat. *jugum*, O. Bulg. *igo*, O.E. *ȝeonȝ*, Goth. *jugga*, Lat. *juvencus*.

O.E. *ȝ* = Germ. **g* represents a back sound, before all original back vowels and their mutations; before O.E. *æ* = Germ. *a* before nasals; and before the consonants *l*, *r*, and *n*. It always represents the front sound when it = Germ. **j*; and when = **g* before original front vowels, and all O.E. diphthongs whatever their origin, and the mutations of these; diphthongization is a sure sign that the *ȝ* which immediately precedes it is a front *ȝ̊*. The geminated *ȝ* nearly always = Germ. *gg*, and this in O.E. is always front. There are only a few words (such as *doȝȝa*, *froȝȝa*, etc.) in which the double *ȝ* is not of the above origin, and then it represents a back sound. Medially after vowels, and after *l*, *r*, *ȝ* may be either back or front, according to the nature of the preceding vowel. (See on above questions Sweet, H.E.S., pp. 146-149; A.S. Reader, xliii-xlvii; Kluge, Grundriss, pp. 841-844; Sievers, Angls. Gr., §§ 211-216.)

Pronunciation of O.E. ȝ and ȝ̊ and cȝ.

As to the pronunciation of initial *ȝ*, most scholars are agreed that it was that of an open voice consonant, back or front according to the conditions stated above. For statement of this view, see

Braune, Beiträge, Bd. i, p. 514, note; Ten Brink, Anglia, Bd. i, p. 515; Sievers, Anglia, i, p. 575; Sievers, O.E. Gr., §§ 211, 212; Paul, P.B.B., i, pp. 173-183; Kluge, Grundriss, p. 841; Napier, Academy, February 22, 1890, p. 123; Wright, Dialect of Windhill, § 315; Streitberg, Ugerm. Gr., p. 120, etc., etc. Against this formidable array of authorities, however, we have the weighty opinion of Mr. Sweet, who holds directly the contrary view; see Proceedings of Phil. Soc., February, 1883; H.E.S., pp. 145, 146; A.S. Reader, pp. xlv, xlvi. Zupitza also, formerly expressed the opinion that initial ζ was a stop (see Vorrede, p. vii, to his edition of Cynewulf's *Elene*, 1877), but I learn from Professor Napier that he afterwards recanted this opinion. Mr. Sweet's view is that O.E. initial ζ was a back-voice stop, initial ζ a front-voice stop whether it = Germ. * \check{g} or Germ. * \check{j} . As we are, on the present occasion, only discussing non-initial ζ , we need not weigh the arguments in favour of either view on the question of initial ζ , but may merely note in passing that Mr. Sweet has advanced some grave arguments in favour of his view, which have never been met or even properly discussed by the other side, but at the same time it must be admitted that there are great difficulties in the way of the stop theory. Mr. Sweet admits, however, that ζ probably was a front open consonant in unstressed syllables. (A.S. Reader, § 123, p. xlvi.)

With regard to non-initial ζ , opinion seems to be unanimous that medially, between back vowels, e.g. in such words as *saza*, *lagu*, *magu*, etc., and finally after back vowels, it represents the back open voice consonant. This is supposed to be proved by the fact that in later texts ζ in this position is unvoiced, and becomes h after long back vowels, and after l and r (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 214): *ženóh*, *béah*, *stah*, *bealh*, from older *ženó ζ* , *béa ζ* , *stá ζ* , *beal ζ* , and the same applies to front $\check{\zeta}$ when, through syncope, it is brought into contact with a voiceless consonant: *stíhst*, *yrh $\check{\zeta}$ o*, for *stí ζ st*, *yr $\check{\zeta}$ o*, etc.

ζ readily disappears finally as a consonant after front vowels, and becomes *-i*, and even in Epinal we find *zrei*, *bodei*. Also, before original syllabic *n*, ζ disappears, and produces *wæn*, *rén*, from *wæ ζ n*, *re ζ n*. In this connection, Sievers (§ 214. 3) says that *snél* for *snæ ζ l* is not found until later on, but I have found *snel* in Epinal 611 (O.E.T.), or folio 14, line 9, of the facsimile edition. The combination *n ζ* was unquestionably a nasal stop, front or back as the case might be (Sievers, § 215).

Geminated ζ is usually written $e\zeta$ when it = Germ. gj , and in this case is invariably front, and a stop in O.E., $byc\zeta an$, Goth. $bugjan$. According to Kluge (Gr. 844) this combination ($e\zeta$) expressed the modern assibilated pronunciation 'bald nach 900'; Sievers does not fix the date beyond saying that the O.E. $e\zeta$ was "bereits ziemlich frühe zu palatalen affricaten . . . geworden." The chief argument for this assumption seems to be the spelling $mic\zeta ern$, which, however, as Sievers admits, is "erst ziemlich spät belegt." Professor Napier pointed out that $midirman$ occurs in *Lorica*, Gloss. 26, and it thus became evident that $mic\zeta ern$ = O.H.G. $mittigarni$. Hence it is argued that since $e\zeta$ here = $d\zeta$ the pronunciation of $e\zeta$ as 'dž' is proved. I cannot regard this as more convincing than is the $or\zeta eard$, etc., 'proof' of the assibilated pronunciation of O.E. \acute{e} . These spellings merely prove that $d\zeta$ and $e\zeta$ on one hand, $t\zeta$ and \acute{e} on the other, were pronounced alike, but there is no reason at all for assuming that that common pronunciation was tch , or dge ; to my mind these spellings rather tend to confirm the view that \acute{e} and $e\zeta$ were front stops.

As has been already mentioned, the cases where geminated ζ is not Germ. $*gj$ are rare. In $frogga$, $dogga$, etc., it seems probable that there was a back-stop consonant. The combination $-n\zeta$ seems to have been a back nasal followed by a back-stop consonant; it is often written $-nc$.

Graphic distinction between ζ , ξ , $\acute{e}\zeta$, $\zeta\zeta$.

The Runic inscriptions distinguish between ζ and ξ . The following are from Vietor's "Nordhumbrische Runensteine." The Rune for ζ (transcribed g) occurs in the following words: $aetgad(r)\acute{e}$, adv., Ruthw.; $bigotten$, p.p., Ruthw.; $buga$, vb., Ruthw.; $cyniburug$, Bewc.; $galgu$, sb., Ruthw.; $g\acute{e}stiga$, vb., Ruthw.; $giwundad$, p.p., Ruthw.; God , Ruthw.; $hnag$, 1st sing. pret., Ruthw.; $modig$, adj., Ruthw.; $sorgan$, dat. pl. sb., Ruthw.

The following words have the symbols for ζ (\acute{g}):—

$Sigbecun$, sb., Bewc.; $alegdun$, 3rd pl. pret., Ruthw.; $berg\acute{e}$, sb., Thornh.; $g\acute{e}red\acute{e}$, 3rd sing. pret., Ruthw.; $\acute{G}essus$, Jesus, Bewc.; $gidr\acute{e}fid$, p.p., Ruthw.; $g\acute{e}stiga$, inf., Ruthw.; $g\acute{e}stoddun$, 3rd pl. pret., Ruthw.; $Hilddigy\beta$, Hartlepool; $Igilsuip$, Thornh.; $Limw\acute{e}rign\acute{e}$, adj., Ruthw.; $D\acute{e}giog\acute{e}f$, Ruthw.

As in the case of *c*, *ċ*, the manuscripts do not distinguish between *z* and *z̄* with perfect consistency, so that often the sound has to be inferred from the kind of vowels before or after it, and from the subsequent history of the word in the later language. In West Saxon initial *z* and *z̄* are very generally distinguished by writing an *e* after the latter. In late texts the *z*- is often dropped altogether before *ea* and *eo*, though rarely, *zeornest* = 'earnest,' etc., in late Kentish. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 212, Anm. 2.)

Medially after *l* and *r* *z̄* is frequently written *iz̄*; *byriz̄*, *myriz̄*, *fylizan*, etc.; occasionally, though rarely, *uz̄* is written after *r* and *l* for *z*, *buruz̄* (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 213, Anm.).

Medially and finally *z* is occasionally written *zh*: *bózh*, *huáz*, *slózh*, *déazhian*, *tótozhen*, etc. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 214, Anm. 5; Sweet, *Reader*, p. xlvii, § 128.)

The front stop is usually written *cz*: *secz*, *hrycz*, etc. Medially this combination is often followed by *e* or *i*, before a back vowel: *seczea*, *seczium*, etc. (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 216.)

The back stop is generally written *zz*, *frozza*, *dozza*, etc., but occasionally also *cza*, *éarwicza* (Sievers, *Angls. Gr.*, § 216, 2). But the front or back sound is revealed by that of the following vowel, or, if the *cz*, etc., is final, by the preceding vowel (Sweet, *A.S. Reader*, p. xlv, § 113).

The spelling *hinzonzæ* for *hingonzæ* in Bede's Death Song can only be explained as being due to some analogy, perhaps with *eode*, unless it be a mistake of the foreign scribe. (Sweet, *A.S. Reader*, pp. 176 and 224.)

z, cz, etc., in M.E.

In M.E. texts of the thirteenth century and onwards, back and front *z* are clearly distinguished, and in many instances the stop is also distinguished from the open consonant. The front stop is usually written *gg*, the back stop *g*, the front open consonant *z*, and the back open consonant *gh*. This exactitude is, however, only attained by degrees, nor do all MSS., even of a fairly late date, show unanimity in the employment of the symbols.

For an elaborate account of the use of *g* and *z* in early M.E. MSS. see Professor Napier's letter in *The Academy*, February 22, 1890. Out of the twenty MSS. here examined (all of the twelfth

century) nine retain the O.E. γ in all cases, four have g in all cases or use γ only occasionally without any fixed rule, seven use both g and γ to distinguish between O.E. γ and $\dot{\gamma}$. To this last class must now be added MS. Cott., Vespas, A. 22, a Kentish MS. of the latter part of the twelfth century. Mr. Napier mentions this text as one of those which he had not had an opportunity of examining. I made a careful examination of it with the following results: g occurs sixty times; in the majority of these cases it = a back sound, sometimes, however, a stop, sometimes an open consonant; there are, however, a few cases in which it is apparently written for a front sound. γ is written fifty times, generally for a front open consonant, but occasionally, perhaps by error, for a back consonant. I only found three cases of g doubled; in two of these it = O.E. $\dot{\gamma}\gamma$, in the other it = a back open consonant—*aggenne*. γ does not occur doubled.

g appears initially in such words as *be-gan*, *god*, *gastes*, *golde*, *gylt*, *grate*, etc.; medially in *fugel*, *halege*, *laglice*, *nigon*, *bugon*, *dagum*, *halgode*; after n in *anglene*, *strange*, *kingene*, *king*, *fengon*, *unglenges*, *hungre*. Spellings like *bigetēn*, *gif*, *gilt*, *nigon* are probably scribal slips. The back open consonant is several times written *ch*, as *heretoche* (O.E. *heretoga*), *burch* (O.E. *burg*), *þurch* (O.E. *þurh*), and doubtless this spelling implies the voiceless sound.

ch and *h* are both written for the front open voiceless consonant, *nichti*, *lichte*, *mihti*.

γ , on the other hand, occurs in *γiaf*, *γef*, *γief*, *-ongean*, *agen*, *forγiaf*, *γearnunze* (the second γ here is doubtless a scribal error), *zife*, *sb.*, *twezen*, *deize*, *deze* (dat. sing.), *upstize*, *sezʒ*, *sorize*, etc., in all of which words it = the front open sound.

γ represents the back sound in *dagen* (dat. pl.), *ozeþ*, *laze*, *muge*, *mazi*, etc.

In the Kentish Gospels (Hatton MS., 38), as Mr. Napier has pointed out, (see letter in *Academy* above quoted), g and γ are used with very fair regularity for back stop and front or back open sounds respectively. The word *eaze* = 'eye, as Mr. Napier says, never occurs with *i* inserted before the γ . This, he thinks, rather tends to show that the original back sound (cf. Goth. *augo*) was not yet fronted. On the other hand, those γ 's which were front in O.E. often have *ei*, *ai* before them, as in *saizde*, *meizden*, etc. The MS. B. 14. 52, in Trinity Coll., Cambridge (before 1200), and MS. of Genesis and Exodus in Corpus Christi Coll.

Cambridge, do not distinguish between stop and open, back and front consonant, but write *g* throughout. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bradley, who asked Professor Skeat to examine the MSS. to decide the question. MS. Laud, 471, Kentish Sermons (see Morris, O.E. Misc., p. 21), has *g* for back stop, *gg* for front stop, *gh*, *w*, for back open consonant, and *y* for front open.

But of all the M.E. MSS. the Ormulum (Junius, 1) is the most carefully and phonetically written, and Professor Napier has brought to light some important facts for our present purpose. (See "Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum," Oxford, 1893, also *Academy*, 1890, p. 188.) The discovery of Mr. Napier was, that Orm uses a new symbol, **Ʒ**, a kind of compromise between the English and the Continental **ʒ** and *g*, to express the back stop voice consonant. This symbol is used regularly in Orm's MS. in such words as **Ʒ**odd, bi**Ʒ**innen, e**ƷƷ**inn**Ʒ**, etc.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that Kluge (Gr., 844) states on the strength of Napier's paper that Orm had a special symbol for the sound in *seggen*, *liggen*, etc., while of course the whole point is that Orm retains the ordinary Continental *g* for this sound, but uses his new symbol for the back stop.

For the front open voice consonant Orm writes **ʒ**, *drizze*, *rezzn*, etc., and for the back open sound **ʒh**, *laghe*, *hallzhenn*, *azhenn*, etc. The fact that he uses this symbol in the word *ezhe*= 'eye,' shows that the original back sound of this word had not yet been fronted, and confirms Mr. Napier's suggestion with regard to it in the Kentish Gospels.

Pronunciation of M.E. g, ʒ.

The main facts of pronunciation are clear enough and are practically contained in the above remarks, but there are one or two points which need a little further discussion. O.E. medial and final **ʒ** after front vowels disappears in M.E., having previously diphthongized the vowel, e.g. O.E. *sæʒde*, M.E. *seide*; *mæʒe*, M.E. *meie*, *mei*, etc. This **ʒ** appears in the Orm. as **ʒʒ**, and O.E. *æ* before it as *a*; *nazʒlenn* 'to nail,' cf. O.E. *næʒl*; *wazʒn*, O.E. *wæʒn* *daʒʒ*, O.E. *dæʒ*, etc. The question is how soon did this **ʒ** lose its consonantal quality and become a mere vowel, presumably the high front wide (ɪ). The answer seems to be that Orm had already lost the consonantal sound, for he writes for O.N. *reisa*,

reʒsenn, where presumably -eʒʒ = [ʃ]. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the combination aʒʒ = [ʃ], [ʃ:f], or even perhaps [ʃ:f]. The Kentish Homilies (Vespas, A. 22) write dæʒ, dæiʒ, and dæi, and Laʒamon has the same word spelt with and without the ʒ, in several cases: ·dai, deie, dæʒe, ·daize, etc.; tweize, ·tweie; æie, eie, eize, etc. = awe.

A Worcester glossary of the twelfth century has already næilsex, novaculum (cf. also remarks on O.E. ʒ). St. Juliana (Prose version, Dorset, 1200) has meiden, deis, etc.; Cursor Mundi (Yorks, 1300) has lies and lighes, so that it seems clear that we may safely regard ʒ, or ʒh, etc., in this position after a front vowel as having ceased to be a consonant before the end of the twelfth century, perhaps in all dialects.

O.E. ʒ between back vowels had, as we have seen, the sound of the back open consonant, and in the M.E. period shows evidence of lip modification in many dialects, being written often -*wgh*, etc., and at last only *w*. O.E. laʒu, M.E. lawe, etc. This is a very early process, for in the Worcs. Gloss. we find *elbowe* and *heretowa* (Wright-Wülcker, 536. 16 and 538. 20), and in Kentish Sermons (Laud MS., 471) 1200-50, we find 'we mowe,' but also the traditional spelling -*gh* in *daghen* (dat. pl.), *laghe*, 'law,' etc. In *Owle* and *Nightingale*, Dorset, 1240-50, the *Jesus MS.* generally spells with *w*, the *Cotton MS.* with ʒ or *h*: thus *Cott. moreʒening*, *Jesus morewening*; *Cott. fuheles*, *Jesus foweles*; *Cott. hazel*, *Jesus hawel*; *Cott. hahe*, *Jesus hawe*, etc.; but there are examples of ʒ in *Jesus* and of *w* in *Cotton*. In most thirteenth-century MSS. both spellings are found. *Will. of Shoreham* rhymes both *ifaze* and *inaʒe*, to *lawe*. In *Orm*, however, this sound appears to be always written ʒ*h*. In some cases, however, this ʒ is stopped, e.g., *Catholicon*, *fagyng*, *blandica*, to *fage*, O.E. *fazenian*. In those dialects where final ʒ was unvoiced, the *h* thus produced shares the fate of primitive *h*. Final *h* was also very early lip-modified, and then changed to a pure lip-teeth voiceless consonant, so that we get *throf* = O.E. *þurh*, already in *Will. of Shoreham*. The word-lists which follow, will illustrate the development of the whole process, and its spread in the various dialects. In the modern dialects these O.E. ʒ's appear as back open voiceless consonants, as lip-teeth voiceless (i.e. *f*), as lip-open voice consonants with back modification (i.e. *w*), or are often lost altogether, as in Standard English, where such a word as 'plough' has a pure diphthong finally in the pronunciation of most

educated speakers. It seems almost impossible to formulate any rule for the development of O.E. medial and final z in M.E. and Mod. Engl., as all possible forms of it are often found in the same texts and dialects.

It is difficult to determine at what date O.E. $c\bar{z}$ developed from the front stop into the assibilated sound. The earliest example I have found of the introduction of a \bar{d} occurs in Robt. of Brunne, 1337, who has 'sedgeing'=saying. The next examples are a century later in Promptorium, 1440, where the spellings *wedge*, vb., alongside of *wegge*, sb.; *hedge* sb., *hedgyn* vb., are found; and the spellings *coksedge*, *coksedgys*, occur in a Norfolk will of 1467. But the usual spelling in all of these texts is certainly *-gge*, and this spelling seems to have continued, even in English words, far into the sixteenth century (see article "Bridge" in New Engl. Dict.).

On the whole, both from the evidence of spelling, and from the fact that words of the *rig* and *brig* type have a rather different distribution in the Mod. dialects from those of the *flick*, *dick* type, it is possible that \bar{c} and $\bar{c}z$ were not developed quite on the same lines, and that the complete assibilation of the latter took place rather later than that of the former.

Distribution of fronted and unfronted $\bar{c}z$ in M.E.

This is a much more difficult question than the distribution of \bar{c} and c , M.E. *ch* and *k*. It is impossible to tell from the early texts whether in any given word *-gg*, or *g* and *c*, represent the back or the front stop. All texts, with the exception of the *Ormulum*, write *gg*, alike in words like *brigge* and words like *frogge*, so that although there is no doubt in Southern texts that *gg* in the former of these is front and in the latter back, in Midland and Northern texts there is generally no means of ascertaining with certainty whether, at a given date, a given dialect pronounced 'brig' (as in Modern Scotch), or 'bridge.' As we have seen, the spellings with \bar{d} are scarce and late.

Almost the only way to be absolutely certain that a word (of English origin) in M.E. was pronounced with a back stop, would be to find it rhyming with such a word as the Scandinavian 'leg.' Such rhymes, unfortunately, are rare. I am indebted to Miss Kempe, of Lady Margaret's Hall, Oxford, for calling my

attention, however, to a rhyme of this kind in MS. Laud, 595, upon which she is working. In this MS., on fol. 227, verso, occur the lines—

“ He bade hem take him by the loggis
And throwe him over into the seggis ”;

and this couplet is frequently repeated. On fol. 212 of the same MS. the words *figge* and *brigge* are rhymed together. The handwriting is in a scribal hand, apparently of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the dialect is evidently West Midland. There can, presumably, be no kind of doubt as to the pronunciation of *brigge* and *seggis* in the above case, namely, that the *gg* in both instances represents a back stop.

On the other hand, it is very unsatisfactory work to examine rhymes in M.E. for light on this class of words, for not only are such rhymes few and far between, but also we constantly find that both of the rhyming words are of the same class. Thus, such rhymes as *rugge*—*brugge* (Lazamon, vol. ii, p. 457, lines 18 and 19, both MSS.) are absolutely valueless, since they reveal nothing of the pronunciation of *gg* in these two words. It seems probable that they had the front-stop sound, and that is all that can be said. Again, it is not altogether safe to trust to the evidence of the Mod. Dial., and infer that because we find *brig* or *seg* in any district at the present time, therefore a similar pronunciation of these words obtained in that province in M.E. *Seg*, for instance, occurs in Gloucestershire at the present day, but seems to be the only one of the O.E. *-cȝ* words which has the *-g* form. Now, are we to regard this word in Glos. as a last survivor of a primitive state of things, or as a modern importation from some other dialect, such as that of Hereford, Worcestershire, or Warwickshire?

The Promptorium, as we have seen, has *wedge* and *hedge*; but do we assume therefrom a *-dȝe* pronunciation for the words spelt *rygge*, *segge*, *brigge*, etc., in the same work? We are met with the difficulty that in Norfolk at the present day they say *rig*, *seg*, *brig*, etc. Modern English dialects have many interesting qualities, and not a little is assuredly to be learned from them, but their study must always be in a way unsatisfactory from the necessary uncertainty which exists as to whether this or that peculiarity is really indigenous to this or that dialect in which we happen to find it. The speech of rustics seems to be as fluid

and variable as that of savages. When once a form of language has become the mere jargon of peasants, there ceases to be any standard of correctness, any adherence to type. Thus it probably happens that a *-k*, or *-ch*, a *-g*, or *-dge* form is often abandoned or adopted by a village community through such a simple accident as that of the squire's coachman, or my lady's femme de chambre, coming from some distant shire. This is what may and does happen, and it does not lighten the labours of the 'dialectologist.' Professor Wright gave me an interesting case which practically happened under his own observation, in which a totally strange form was introduced into the Windhill dialect, and became the current form, entirely through the arrival in the village of a certain family who came from another district. The new form thus started gained a permanent footing in the dialect in a single generation. And so with regard to the *-g* forms, although I have added special lists showing their distribution in the Modern Dial., I cannot feel absolutely sure that anything very important is thereby established. Are we in the presence of a primitive and very widespread phenomenon, or have we merely a most prodigious mixing up of dialect characters?

Personally, I incline to the former view, and believe of the *-g*, as of the *-k* forms, that they are not originally a Northern characteristic, but that they existed side by side with the fronted forms, being later on eliminated in the South in favour of the latter. Be this as it may, a glance at the list showing the present distribution of these forms will show that Kluge's statement (*Grundriss*, p. 844), "Die formen mit *g* (meaning *rig*, *seg*, etc.) reichen südlich bis Lincolnshire," will require very considerable modification. In fact, the remarks above with regard to the degree of fronting of O.E. *ǣ* in the North, apply also to O.E. *æ*.

III.

H in O.E.

O.E. *h* represents Germ. *h* or *χ*; Idg. **k*. O.E. *háfod*; Goth. *haubiþ*; O.H.G. *houpit*; Lat. *caput*, etc. O.E. *éaht*; Goth. *ahtan*; Lat. *octo*; etc.

H occurs in O.E. initially before all vowels, before the consonants *w*, *l*, *r*, *n*; it also occurs medially and finally.

Pronunciation of h in O.E.

Initially, before vowels, *h* was a mere breath glide in O.E. (Sweet, H.E.S., § 497; Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 217). Before *l, n, r, w*, it probably in the oldest English period preserved an independent sound, whether as mere breath or as a weak open consonant. This stage is proved by such a metathesis as *hors* for *hros* (Sweet, H.E.S., § 501). Later on, in this position *h* probably ceased to have an independent sound, and merely unvoiced the following *l, r*, etc. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 217; Sweet, H.E.S., § 501). Medial *h*, between vowels, was mere breath, and in later texts is dropped altogether, though still preserved in Epinal in *suehoras*, W.S. *sweoras*, 'fathers-in-law,' etc. (H.E.S., § 498). *H* was originally, undoubtedly a back open consonant when doubled, and before *s, þ, f*; in the combination *ht* it must have had the sound of a front open consonant in later W.S., for it fronts the preceding vowel, as in *nicht*, *onicht*.

In Epinal *h* is written *c, ch, hch* when it = an open consonant, whether back or front; for *-ht* Epinal generally has *ct*. (For above statement, with the exception of remarks on *h* before *s, f, þ*, see H.E.S., § 502.)

When *h* stands by the apocopation of a vowel, before an open consonant, it is dropped in the Anglian dialects, but preserved in W.S. and Kt.; W.S., *siehist, siehþ, niehist*, but in the Mercian Psalter, *geśis, gesiþ, nést* (Sweet, H.E.S., § 504.)

The combination *hs* is frequently written *x*, (1) whether it be already Germ., as *oxa*, Goth. *auhsa*; or (2) whether it arises in O.E. itself, as *siehist*, written commonly *syxt*, etc. (Sievers, A.S. Gr., § 221, Anm. 3 and 4). Sievers believes that the pronunciation of this later *x* was that of back open consonant + *s*.

The evidence against such a view appears to me overwhelming. I believe that the combination *hs* was pronounced *ks*, whatever its origin, from a very early period, i.e., that the back open consonant became a back stop before a following open consonant.

The spelling with *x* seems to prove this, for there is no evidence that *x* was ever pronounced otherwise than *ks*. No one doubts, presumably, that in *axian*, where it = *ks*, by metathesis from **-sk*, the *x* was pronounced *ks* (see also Kluge, Grundr., p. 850). Now this word is sometimes written *áhsian, áhxian*, which shows that *hs* could be used to represent the sound of *ks*; when, therefore, we find **hs* and **ks* both written alike, whether as *hs* or *x*, it is

surely reasonable to conclude that they were pronounced alike. That common pronunciation must have been *ks*, and not open consonant + *s*, for we have no reason to believe that in axian *x* ever could have been thus pronounced. *h* + *f* and *þ* = *k* will be discussed later on. Sweet thinks that O.E. *x*, whether = Germ. **hs* or *ks*, was pronounced -*ks*. (A.S. Reader, § 159.)

H in M.E.

(See Sweet, H.E.S., §§ 720-727; Kluge, Grundr., pp. 847-50.)

Mr. Sweet shortly sums up the matter of uninitial *h* in M.E. by saying that O.E. *h* was split into two sounds; the back and the front open breath consonants, the former of which was rounded (or lip-modified) in M.E. This class has already been mentioned above as sharing the fortunes of O.E. unvoiced *ɣ*. Fronted *h* in most dialects seems to have been voiced at an early period, and opened to a front vowel. The O.E. combination -*ht* appears in Early M.E. texts as -*cht*, *ht*, *zt*. Thus Vespas, A. 22, has -*cht* in dochtren, michte, echt ('possessions'), *ht* in almihtiz. The Laud MS. of the Kentish Sermons writes -*cht*, licht, bricht, etc. Lazamon has dohter (both MSS.); douter, dozter, dochter, and docter in MS. Caligr. A, ix.; brofte, brohte, in MS. Otho, cxiii; briht in both MSS. Orm has *ht*, *hht*, lihht, wahht, etc. Libeaus Desconus (middle of fourteenth century) has -*zt*, knizt, sozt, wizt, etc. In Piers Plowman we generally find -*zt*, but occasionally also -*ght*. Genesis and Exodus have -*ct* and *gt*, Bestiary *gt*; but the later East Midland texts, English Guilds, R. of Brunne, Promptorium, and Bokenham on the whole prefer -*ght*, but occasionally write -*cht*, etc. The Yorkshire texts all seem to prefer -*ght*, and the Scotch texts, which of course are later, generally write -*cht*. It is not easy to decide at what date the back consonant in this combination was dropped. In Scotland and the extreme North of England it still survives. In the South, however, and in the standard language it seems to have disappeared fairly early. Sweet (H.E.S., §§ 889-895) gives the somewhat contradictory statements of English writers on pronunciation from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, but does not express any opinion as to the period at which -*gh* ceased to be pronounced. He says, however (§ 727), that the fact that Lazamon sometimes writes almiten, broute, "can hardly indicate an actual loss of the consonants themselves, but is rather a part of the general looseness

in the writing of *h*, and also of that unwillingness to use it in a strong consonantal value which afterwards leads to the general use of *gh*."

If *z* or *h* were only left out in places where one would expect to find it, as in the cases quoted by Mr. Sweet, it might be possible to say that the symbol was left out through carelessness, though the sound was still retained, although this does not seem very probable in this case, as the omission is fairly frequent, from a very early date. But when we find that *z* is also occasionally introduced before *t* in words where it does not belong, then I think we must conclude that in the dialect, and at the period in which this occurs, the O.E. combination *-ht* had ceased to be pronounced even when written according to tradition, and that most certainly it was not pronounced in words where it had never existed. Besides the cases in *Lazamon*, already quoted, I have found the following of *h*, *gh*, etc., omitted: *Hali Meidenhed* (1225), *nawt* = O.E. *nawiht*; *Will. of Shoreham* (1315), *wyth-thoute*, which rhymes to *nouxte* (but *Conrath* reads *wiþ thoute* = 'thought,' here); *Will. of Palerne* (1350), *brit*, *rit* (and *rizt*). In *Songs and Carols* (1400) occur *dowter*, *nyte*, and *bryte*. *Ten Brink* (*Chaucer's Sprache*, 2^{te} Aufl., Kluge, 1899), § 121, Anm., p. 83, refers to the Six-text edition, 473/2335, where *plit* = 'plight' rhymes with *appetit*. I am unable to find this passage in Mr. Skeat's six-volume edition of *Chaucer*. A striking example of an intrusive *z* occurs in *Will. of Shoreham*, p. 6 (*Percy Soc.*, 1849), where *fozte* is written for *fote*, and in *St. Editha* (1400) *out* is spelt *owzt* twice. In spite of the ambiguous statements of *Salesbury* and his contemporaries, there can be little doubt that all trace of the *h* had disappeared in the time of *Surrey* and *Wyat*, who constantly write *delight*, *spight*, *spright*, etc. (I gave a complete list of these spellings in *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 27, 1897.) For a list of spellings like *bight*, *quight*, etc., in *Spenser*, see *Ellis*, E.E.P., pt. iii, p. 863. For an account of *Tusser's* spellings (*wait* = 'wait,' etc.) see *Payne and Heritage's* edition of the "Five Hundred Pointes," E.D.S., 1878.

IV.

WORD - LISTS.

M.E. WORD-LISTS.

The following M.E. word-lists are all from texts which have been edited, although in some instances I have taken my forms from the MS. itself. To save space, I have refrained from giving references in the case of those texts for which more or less copious glossaries exist, and the reader is referred to the glossary itself to verify a form. But I have in such cases generally mentioned the MS. from which the form comes, if the glossary from which it is taken is based upon several versions. In the case of those word-lists which are taken from the body of a printed text, or from a MS. for which no glossary exists, I have referred to the page, chapter, or line of the printed edition as was most convenient. Most of the references explain themselves, but it is perhaps as well to say that in the case of Lagamon, words without any mark occur in MS. Cott. Calix., A. ix; those which have · in front of them occur in both MSS.; those in brackets, only in MS. Otho, c. xiii. The order of the word-lists, which corresponds to that of the list of texts, as will be seen, is chronological so far as possible within each dialect or group of dialects. The geographical order is from North to South and from West to East. The Northern (Eng.) texts are all from Yorkshire. The Midland section begins with North-west Midland, and works, as far as possible, straight across to East Midland, then goes back to Mid-West Midland, and straight across again to the East Midland, and so on. This plan seemed to me the simplest after careful consideration, and, after all, any system of arrangement which is consistent, will fulfil its purpose of giving a picture of the organic interrelations of the dialects.

THE MODERN DIALECT WORD-LISTS.

In the word-lists of the Modern English Dialects I have endeavoured to give every form in each dialect that is interesting or 'irregular' among the different classes. The system of classification of the forms themselves is in one sense not a perfect

one, but I have adopted it to save space, and too numerous subdivisions. I refer to the fact that I have often grouped together words which originally belonged to different categories, but which in the Modern language have been levelled under one group. Thus, taking the dialects as they are, I have, for example, put into one class all words with final or medial *k*, which includes: (1) words which have *o* in O.E. and which we should expect to have the back stop now; (2) which have *o* in O.E. and which we should expect to have *-ok*, but which have *-k* in this or that dialect. The M.E. forms are grouped on the same principle.

Some of the lists may not be thought copious enough, others are perhaps too full. In the case of ordinary forms it does not follow that because they occur in one list and not in another, that they therefore do not exist in that dialect, but in the case of 'irregular' words like *lig*, *brig*, *flick*, and so on, I have endeavoured to mention them in each dialect where they exist; therefore, if such a word is not found in a word-list it may be assumed that it does not occur in that dialect. At the same time, though great pains have been taken in this matter, it would be absurd to pretend that no word of importance has been overlooked. In dealing with so large a body of material it is inevitable that one man should make an occasional slip. In making the lists which show the distribution through the modern dialects of upwards of sixty words I have, in those cases where it was possible, checked my results by Professor Wright's Dictionary.

I.

Non-initial *k, c, ck* in M.E.*Barbour.*

Abak, 'backwards.'
 Brak, 'broke.'
 Crykkis, 'creeks.'
 Dik, 'a trench.'
 Ec, 'eke' (conj.).
 Ic, Ik, and I = 'I.'
 Sekir, 'sure.'
 Sek }
 Seik } vb.
 Seik.
 Sik, 'such.'
 Slak, 'a hollow place.'
 Slyk, 'slime.'
 Spek, 'speech.'
 Spek, vb.
 Stakkar, vb., 'stagger.'
 Stekand.
 Strak, 'straight.'
 Strekyt, 'stricken.'
 Strekit, 'stretched.'
 Strikand, 'striking.'
 Swak, 'a blow.'
 Sykes, 'trenches.'
 Takyn, 'a token.'
 Thik, adj.
 Thak, sb.
 Reik, 'reek.'
 Reik, 'to reach.'
 Rec, 'I reckon.'
 Saik, 'sake.'
 Oulk = owk, 'week.'
 Pikkis, 'pickaxes.'
 Pik, 'pitch.'
 Prik }
 Prek } vb.
 Lik, vb., 'please.'
 Lik, 'likely.'
 Luk, vb.
 Meckle }
 Mekill }
 Ik, 'also.'
 Vikkid, 'poor, sorry.'
 Wouk, 'kept watch.'
 Kinrik, 'kingdom.'

Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Beswik, vb., 'deceive.'
 Beseik, vb.

Blek, 'blocking.'
 Breik, 'breeches.'
 Clek, sb., 'hatch.'
 Cleik, vb., 'seize.'
 Kinryk.
 Leik, 'dead body.'
 Reke, vb.
 Sic, 'such.'
 Seik, 'to seek.'
 Smowk, sb.
 Skryke, vb.
 zuke, 'itching.'

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Beik, 'a beak.'
 Beseik, vb.
 Bike, 'a hive.'
 Brak, adj., 'salt.'
 Brakill, 'unsettled, brittle.'
 Clukis, 'claws, clutches.'
 Elbok, 'elbow.'
 Elyke, 'alike' (= zelic with z- lost).
 Faik, 'to grasp' }
 Fakand, part., } Can this be cognate
 'grasping' } with 'fetch' ?
 Nokkis, 'notches.'
 Pick, sb., 'pitch.'
 Preik, vb., 'gallop.'
 Rakkis, '(he) recks.'
 Rakles, 'reckless.'
 Reik, sb., 'smoke.'
 Rekand, part. pres.
 Reik, vb., 'reach.'
 Rekand, 'stretching.'
 Screik }
 Srike } sb., 'shriek.'
 Sielik, 'such.'
 Slekit, adj.
 Slike, 'mud, slime.'
 Snak, sb., 'snatch, short time.'
 Stakkir, vb.
 Swyk, vb., 'assuage.'
 Thekyt }
 Thykyt } p.p., 'thatched.'
 Wreikis, 1 pres. pl.

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Acquorns, 'acorns.'
 Baik, vb.

Bekkis, 'bows, curtsias.'
 Blac, adj.
 Dikes, 'dikes.'
 Reik, 'smoke.'
 Seik, vb.
 Smenk.
 Thak, sb.
 Quayk, adj.

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Bi-seking, 38. 13, passim.
 Dyke, sb., 7. 16.
 (he) Ekes, 40. 9.
 Griking, 45. 6 and 77. 34 (at the latter place MS. Egerton has griging).
 to þam Like, 48. 21.
 Mikel, 34. 18.
 Mikel-hede, 58.
 Pricked, p.p., 31. 4.
 Reke, sb., 36. 20.
 for to Reek, 109. 4.

Ike = ?

"Till aghe-fulle and ai ike
 At kinges of erthe þat rike."
 75. 12.

Rekles, 'incense,' 140. 2.
 Rike, 'kingdom,' 44. 7.
 þon Sekes, 7. 5.
 Sekand, 9. 10.
 Seked, p.p., 16.
 Soth-like, 26. 10.
 Slike, 'such,' 84. 8.
 Stiked, 3rd pl. pret., 37. 3.
 Wiccand, 'witching, charming,' MS.
 Egerton, other MSS. 'wicchand.'
 Wreker, 'avenger,' 8. 3.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Beseke
 Freck, 'a man.'
 Ilik, adv.
 Licam, 'corpse.'
 Mak, 'a mate.'
 Mikel }
 Mikil }
 Pik, sb., 'pitch.'
 Reck, vb., 'care.'
 Prick, sb.
 Prik (Fairf.).
 Rik, adj.
 Sek, vb., 'seek.'
 Spek, sb. (also Speche).
 Spek, vb., and Spech.

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Dik, 'bank.'
 Kynrik.
 Priked, p.p.

Prk. of Conac., Yorks., before 1349.

Breke, vb.
 Buk, 'a buck.'
 Cloke, 'a claw.'
 Eke }
 Heke } vb., 'increase.'
 Fickle, adj.
 Layk, 'to play.'
 Like, 'to please.'
 Loke, vb.
 Mikel, adj.
 Nek, sb.
 Prike, vb.
 Pyk, sb.
 Reke, sb., 'smoke.'
 Reke, 'care.'
 Sake, 'fault.'
 Siker, adj.
 Skrike, vb.
 Slake, vb., 'quench, mitigate.'
 Sleke }
 Slekin } vb., 'to slake.'
 Souke, 'to suck.'
 Strykly, adv., 'direct.'
 Wayk, adj., 'weak.'
 Wyk, 'horrid,' 'bad.'

Sir Gaw., North., 1366.

Eke, 'else.'
 Fyked, 'shrank,' 'was troubled.'
 Layk, 'sport.'
 Layke, vb.
 Rak, sb., 'vapour.'

Townl. Myst., Yorks., 1450.

Cleke, vb., 'seize.'
 Pik, 'pitch.'
 Shryke, 'to shriek.'
 Twyk, 'to twitch.'

Wrt.-Wlkr., xviii, Northern, Early Fifteenth Century.

Hekylle.
 Mawke, 'maggot.'
 Moke, 'moth.'
 Syke, 'gutter.'
 Thekare.
 Flyk (of bacon).
 Reke, 'fumes.'

Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.

Akis, pres. sing., ' (it) aches.'
 Beseke, D. and A.
 Beseche, D. and A.
 Cleke, vb., 'clutch.'
 Breke, 'breaks.'
 Dyke } 'ditch.'
 Dike }
 Freke, 'a man.'
 Kokel, 'shaky, unsteadfast.'
 Laike, sb., 'sport,' etc.
 Leke, sb., 'leek.'
 Licken, vb.
 Mekill, 'great.'
 Pik, sb.
 Reke, 'smoke.'
 Rekils, 'odour.'
 Sike } 'such.'
 Slike }
 Strekis, 'it stretches.'
 Seke, vb.
 Skrike, sb.
 Schrikis, pres. pl. vb.
 Wreke, vb., 'wreak.'

Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.

a Theker, 'tector.'
 Thakke } 'culmus.'
 Thake (A) }
 Ake, quercus.
 to Ake.
 a Bakbone.
 a Bek, 'torrens.'
 Blak, adj.
 to Breke, 'frangare.'
 to Dike.
 to Eke, ubi 'to helpe,' (note, cf. Jetch Palsgrave).
 a Flyke of bacon.
 Wicked, Austerus.
 a Wyke, of ye eghe (Whyte, 4).
 a Leke, 'porrum.'
 Mikill, adj.
 a Wake, 'vigilia.'
 a Nyke, 'a nick, notch.'
 Pikke }
 Pike (A) } 'pix, bitumen.'
 to Pryke, 'pungere.'
 a Pryk.
 to Seryke.
 Syker, 'securus.'
 Slyke.
 a Smoke.
 Reke, sb. and vb.
 Rekyng.
 to Speke.

a Strykylle, 'hostorium.'
 to Take away.
 a Taket, 'clavculus.'
 Rekels } 'incensum.'
 Rekyls (A) }
 Cf. Rechles, Ancr. Riw.

Levins., Yorks., 1570.

Blacke, adj.
 to Bleck (and bletch) 'nigrare.'
 Flick (and flitch) of bacon.
 Prick, vb.
 Screake.
 Whake = 'quake.'
 Bishopricke.
 to Seeke.
 Seeke, adj.
 Reek, sb., 'smoke.'
 Cheke.
 to Wreck, 'vindicare.'
 Eke, vb.
 Meeke, adj.
 Cleake, vb., 'snatch.'
 to Breake.
 Smacke, sb. and vb., 'taste.'
 Snacke, sb. and vb., 'bite.'
 Heck, sb., 'a hatch.'
 Heckfare, sb., 'heifer.' (Heckfar, Huloet.)

Allit P., Lancs., 1360.

Bispeke.
 Blake, adj.
 Blayke, 'pale in colour.'
 Byswyke, 'to defraud.'
 Fykel, 'fickle.'
 Heke, 'also.'
 Likke, 'to sip, drink.'
 Make } 'mate.'
 Mak }
 Makeles, 'matchless.'
 Sykaunde, 'sighing.'
 Wreke, p.p., 'avenged.'
 Wyk } 'wicked.'
 Wykke }

Metr., Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Bake, 'back.'
 Beken, vb., 'command.'
 Blake, vb., 'blacken.'
 Makelest ('most matchless'?).
 Makeles, 'matchless.'
 Mekel } 'much.'
 Mykyl }
 Preke, 'gallop away.'
 Rekes ('he) smokes.'
 Sryken, vb., 'shriek.'

(he) Sekes, 'seeks.'
 Seke, 'sick.'
 (he) Sikes, 'sighs.'
 Siking, 'sighing.'
 Slikes, 'slides.'
 Spekes, inf.
 to Wake, 'watch.'
 Worlyke, 'worthy.'
 Worthelik.
 Wrake, 'destruction.'

R. of Brunne, Lines., 1338.

Breke, p.p.
 Brek, sb.
 Dedlyk, adj.
 Dik, 'ditch.'
 Lak, vb., 'play.'
 Prykel.
 Pryked, p.p.
 Steke, vb., 'stick.'
 Sykes, 'furrows, watercourses.'
 Pakkes, sb. pl.
 pikke, adj.
 Wycke, adj.

Orm., Lines., 1200.

Bakesst.
 Becnenn.
 Bilokenn, 'consider.'
 Biswikenn, 'betray.'
 Bitocenn, 'betoken.'
 Biwokenn, 'watched.'
 Bokes.
 Bruknenn, 'enjoy.'
 Fakenn, 'exile.'
 Forrsakeþþ.
 Huccesteress.
 Ekenn, 'to increase.'
 Mikell.
 Makenn.
 Likenn, 'to like.'
 Sienedd.
 Sake, 'strife.'
 Sikenn.
 Tacenn.
 Takenn.
 Swikedom.
 Stake.
 Stikkas, pl.
 Stekenn, 'to shut.'
 Spekenn.
 Sikenn, 'to sigh.'
 Siker.
 Stracinn, perf.
 Wuke, 'week.'
 Wikken, 'duty, office.'
 Wakemenn, 'watchmen.'
 Wicke, Wikke, 'mean, wicked.'
 Wrekenn, vb., 'avenge.'

Final c in Orm.

Acc., 'but.'
 Bac
 Bacc } 'back.'
 Bacch }
 Bucc, 'goat.'
 Boc, 'book.'
 Brace, 'broke.'
 Ec, 'also.'
 Flocc.
 Icc, 'I.'
 Læc.
 Lac, 'gift.'
 Meoc } 'meek.'
 Mec }
 Seoc } 'sick.'
 Sec }
 Smec, sb.
 Wic, 'dwelling.'
 Smacc, 'taste.'
 Wac, 'weak.'
 Eorþlic.
 Lic (and lich), 'body.'

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Swike, 'deceiver.'
 Swikel, 'deceitful.'
 Biseken, vb.
 Bitaken, 'deliver over.'
 Bleike, 'pale, wan.'
 Breken, vb.
 Dike, 'ditch.'
 Ek, 'also.'
 Fikel, adj.
 Hic, 'I.'
 Mike } 'much.'
 Mikel }
 Rike, sb.
 Seckes, 'sacks.'
 Seken, vb.
 Speke, 'speech.'
 Waken, 'watch.'
 Wicke }
 Wike } 'wicked.'
 Wikke }
 Wreken, vb., 'avenge.'

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

Pricunges, 3rd.
 Prikien, vb. 3rd pl.
 Lickeð, 3rd sing.
 Cwike, adj.
 Siken, inf. 27, 'to sigh.'
 Akeþ, vb. pl., 31.
 Louke, 'side,' dat. sing.
 Schucke, 'devil,' 41.

Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.

Biker, 'a fight.'
 Diked, 'dug out.'
 Freke, 'a man.'
 Hakernes, 'acorns.'
 Layke, vb., 'play.'
 Prike, vb.
 Siken, 'sigh.'
 Stiked, p.p.
 Wake, vb., 'watch.'
 Wicke } evil.
 Wic }

Miro., Salop, 1400.

Lychwake, sb.
 Quyke, 'alive.'
 Stoke, 'stuck.'
 Yeke, 'also.'

MS. Harl., 2253; Heref., 1310.

Aken, vb.
 Bysawiken, p.p.
 Blykeþ.
 Blak, adj., 'black.'
 Blac, 'pale.'
 Eke, 'also.'
 Make, 'mate.'
 Mukel, adj.
 Prikyares, sb. pl.
 Rykene, vb.
 Sike, 1 sing. pres.
 Smok, 'a garment.'
 Spekest.
 Swyke, sb., 'traitor.'
 Wicke, adj.

Worc., Gloss., Twelfth Century.

Bakern, 'pistrionum.'
 Siker, 'tutus.'
 Sticke, 'regula.'
 Werc, 'opus.'
 Slac, 'piger.'
 Oc, 'quercus.'

Laç., Wores., 1205.

Abake.
 Abac.
 Æke, æc, eek, etc., etc., 'also.'
 Ærendwreke, 'messenger.'
 Aswike, 'we cease.'
 At-sake, 'forsake.'
 Awakien, 'to awake.'
 Blikien, vb., 'shine.'
 Blakien.
 Blakede.
 (l. blæched, p.p., } to blacken.
 both MSS.)

Blac, adj.
 Boc.
 [Bock].
 Brockes, 'badgers.'
 Buken, 'bellies,' d. pl.
 Crakeden.
 Dic, 'ditch.'
 Drake, 'dragon.'
 Floc, 'host.'
 Flocke, d.
 Hoker, contempt.'
 Ic and ich, 'I.'
 Pic-foreken, d. pl.
 Smokien, vb., 'to smoke.'
 Spæcken } 'speak.'
 Speken }
 Speke, 'speech.'
 Swike, 'betray.'
 Taken }
 Token }
 Weorc }
 Werc }
 Wærc } sb.
 Worc }
 [Worch] }
 [Worc] }
 [Cweccte] from quecchen.
 Bitaken, 'deliver, give' (and bi-tæche).

Songs and Car., Warw., 1400.

(I) Beseke, 13.
 Prykke (inf.), 73.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Ake, or } sb.
 Ache }
 Akyn, vb.
 Alyke.
 Bakke, 'vespertilio.'
 Bleke, 'atramentum.'
 Blak, 'ater.'
 Dyke, 'fossa.'
 Flykke (of bacon).
 Froke.
 Hec, or Hek, }
 or Hetcche (of a dor) }
 Hekele, 'matasca.' }
 Smeke } sb., 'fumus.'
 Smoke }
 Twykkyn }
 [Twyhynk] }
 Pyk.
 Reek.
 Thak.
 zykn. }
 zekyn, ck. }
 Ykn. }
 Ikyl, 'stiria.'
 Schrykyng.

Norfolk Guilds, 1389.

Worcheppfulleke, 87.
Specialeke, 54.
Unskylfulleche and -lik, 55.

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Barlic, 291.
Bec, 'beak,' 58.
Bitterlike, 481.
Borlic, 'burly,' 605.
Ic, 54.
Lic, sb., 797.
Mikle, 548.
Mikel, 235.
Quike, adj., 341.
Sekeð, 62, 132.
Speken, 592.
Swic, 'such,' 193.
Biswike, 429.
Wakeð, 47.
Wikke, adj., 593.

Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.

Biluken, p.p.
Bisek }
Biseke } imperat.
Biseken, inf.
Bliðelike, adv.
Dik, 'ditch.'
Dikes, pl.
Forsake, 'deny.'
Hic, 'I.'
I-ureke, 'avenged.'
Lik, 'like.'
Likede, 'pleased.'
Mikil
Mikel } 'great.'
(and Michil) }
Prikeð, 'pricks, spurs.'
Reklefat, 'a censur.'
Seken, 'to seek.'
Smaken, 'to scent.'
Swike, 'unfaithful.'
Strekede, 'stretched.'
Speken, vb.
Wikke, 'wicked.'
Uprekeð, 'up-reeks.'

Bokenham, before 1449, Suffolk.

Lyk, S. Anne, 427.
Flykke, Ch. 859.
Wykke, Ch. 856.
Seke, inf. (and Seche).

k medially in Chaucoer.

Aken, vb.
Aking.
Acornes.
Bake, vb.
Biseken, vb.
Bitake, vb.
Breke, vb.
Brekke, sb., 'flaw.'
Darketh, vb.
Derken, vb.
Derke, sb.
Dokke, sb.
Drake.
Fikelnesse.
Flikere, vb.
Halke.
Forsake.
Hakke.
Herke, vb.
Herknen, vb.
Lich-wake.
Loke, vb.
Lokkes (of hair).
Make, vb.
Make, sb.
Meke, adj.
Pekke, vb.
Nekke, sb.
Nake, vb.
Mikel, adj.
Piken, vb.
Priken, vb.
Prikke, sb.
Pyke, vb.
Plukke, vb.
Pokkes, sb.
Rake, sb.
Reeke, vb. (also reechen).
Rekene, vb.
Rekith = 'smokes.'
Siker, adj.
Sake.
Slike.
Smoke, sb.
Souke, vb.
Speke, vb.
Stiken, vb.
Stikke, sb.
Strake, vb.
Stroke, vb.
Stryke, vb.
Syke, vb. ('sigh').
Takel.
Thakketh, vb.
Thikke, adj.
Waker, adj.
Wake, vb.
Triklad, vb.

Weke, adj.
Wreke, vb.
Wikked, adj.
Wikke, adj.

k finally in Chaucer.

Bak.
Beek, 'beak.'
Blak, adj.
Book.
Bouk (of tree).
Brok.
Buk.
Eck, 'also.'
Hook.
Ik, pr.
Lak.
Leek (plant).
Look, sb.
Ook (tree).
Sak.
Seek, 'sick.'
Smok, 'a smoke.'
Wrak, sb.
Stryk, 'stroke.'
Syk, 'a sigh.'

Wycliffe.

Bregynne = k; X.
Pricked, MM.
Quik, 'alive,' X.
Recke, 'to care,' X.
Seke, vb., X.
Sike, 'search into,' X.

St. Cath., Glos., 1200.

Aswikeþ, 'ceases.'
Swike, pres. optat.
Freken, 'champions.'
Pikes, 'spikes.'
Wreken, sb., 'avenge.'
Ecnesse, 'eternity.'
Slec, 'mud.'
Cwic, 'living.'

R. of Glos., 1300.

Wikke, adj.
Wrake, sb., 'vengeance.'
Awreke, sb., 'avenge.'
Bisuike, p. p., 'deceived.'
Biseke, vb.
Srikede, pret.
Meoc, 'meek.'
Speke, vb.
Spek, vb.
Prikie, 'to spur.'

Sike, vb., 'sigh.'
Snike, sb., 'villain.'

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Biseke.
Dike }
Dik }
Dickers = 'ditchers.'
Frek }
Fraik, etc. } 'man.'
Ik and y, pronoun.
Likam }
Licam } 'corpse, body.'
Prikyth.
Prikeþ.
Sykede, 'seighed.'
Wicke }
Wikke } adj.
Ryke, adj.

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Crake, 'crack.'
Freke, 'man.'
Make, 'mate.'
Bespeken.
Be-swyke, 'deceive.'
Deke, 'ditch.'
Prykie, 'ride.'
Reke, 'rich.'
Wikke }
Wycke } 'violent.'
Wycke } 'hard, painful.'
Quyke, adj.
Sykyng, 'sighing.'

St. Editha, Wilts., 1440.

zeke, vb., 'itch,' 3,388.
Scrykede, 1,671.

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

Slakien, inf., 20.
Rikenen, inf., 80.
Eke, 'also,' 4.
Steortnaket, 10.
Sikede, 'sighed,' 20.
Cwike, adj., 22.
Wike, 'office,' 24.

Ancren Riwele, Dorset, 1225.

to-breakeþ.
Prikke, 'point,' jxt.
Speckes, 'specks.'
Speken, inf.
Strik, imp. of strecchen.
Swike, 'traitor.'

Dicke, adj.
 Wikke, 'foul, bad.'
 zoc, 'yoke.'
 Kakele } 'a chatterer.'
 Chakele }
 Swuc, 'such.'
 Tekeðe, MS. Titus and MS. Nero,
 Morton's ed., p. 50.

Morton translates tekeðe 'teach-
 eth,' but Mätzner (Spr. Proben, p. 9)
 rejects this, and regards tekeðe as
 = teke, 'to eken,' + ðe, and as
 meaning 'moreover.' In support
 of Mätzner's view it may be urged
 that, on p. 106, MS. Nero has teke
 þet = 'moreover,' and MS.
 Cleopatra here has 'to eken';
 p. 180, Nero also has techen þe,
 etc., which Morton, again, trans-
 lates 'teach those who,' etc.,
 but Mätzner's explanation certainly
 makes better sense here. On the other
 hand, on p. 50 Morton's translation
 makes good sense, and MS. Cleo-
 patra has techen þe. In any case
 teken, tekeð, etc., may be formed
 from tekþ, just as seken from sekþ.

Tukeð, 'chastiseth.'

O. and N., Dorset, Hants., 1246-50.

Tukest, 'twitchest,' 63.
 Swikel-hede, 162.
 Bi-swike, 158.
 Swikedone, 167.
 Mislikeþ, 344.

Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.

k and ck for the stop, instead of c.

Akenned, Joh., ix, 20.
 Kaigen, Mat., xvi, 19.
 Taken, sb., Joh., ix, 16.
 Spræken, imp. pl., Joh., ix, 22.
 Pape swinkeð, Mat., x, 28.
 Ilken, Lk., x, 7.
 Ækeres, Mat., vi, 28.
 Kynz, Lk., xix, 38.
 Drinke, Mat., vi, 32.
 Deofel-seoke, Mat., viii, 16.
 Chikene, Mat., xxiii, 37.
 Of-karf, Lk., xxiii.
 Kyune.

ck.

Lickeres, Mat., xxiii, 18.
 Hyre lockan, dat. pl., Joh., x, 2.

ch = k.

Chana, Joh. ii, 1.
 Fich-treowe, Joh. i, 50.

M.S. Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.

picce, 237.
 Sicernesse, 239.

Vices and Virtuss, Kent, 1200.

Siker, 25, 31.
 Besekeð, 109, 18.
 Beseken, 147, 28.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent. Early Thirteenth Century.

Ecnesse, sb.
 ic = 'I,' only form used in this MS.
 Likede, 13.
 Quike, 79.
 (Euel) Smak.
 (ic) Speke, 17.
 Siker, adj., 39.
 Biswekeð, 14.

Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), 1200-50.

Betockneþ, Fifth Sermon.
 Werkes, sb., Epiph.

Azenbite, Kent, 1340.

Awreke, vb., 'punish, avenge.'
 Awrekinge, 'vengeance.'
 Boc.
 Breke, vb., breçþ.
 Icing = 'itching.'
 Ilke, 'serve.'
 Licnesse.
 Liknesse.
 Loke, 'to look.'
 Make, 'mate.'
 Markes, 'bounds.'
 Prikyinde, particip.
 Smek } taste.
 Smec }
 Speke, 'to speak.'
 Waki, 'to watch.'
 Y-bake, 'baked.'
 Zik, 'sick.'
 Smackeþ, vb.

Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.

Siker, 13.
 By-swikeþ, 22.

Bi-penkepe (Conrath, *oh*).
 Drykeþ, 23.
 Wyckerede, 99.
 Melke, dat., 133.
 Penkþe } 113.
 Clenkeþe }

Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.
 to Speke, 47.
 Meþinkeþ.
 Ilke, 353.
 Awreke, p.p., 441.
 Pricked, 496.

II.

Non-initial *c*, *ch* in M.E.*Barbour.*

Beteche, 'to commit.'
 Fechand, part.
 Lechis, 'doctors.'
 Vach, 'watch' (sb. and vb.).
 Vrechidly.
 Vrechit, adj.

Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Feche, vb.
 Siche, 'such.'
 Smoch, 'mouldy, stinking.'
 Speiche } sb.
 Speche } sb.
 Streiche, adj., 'stiff, affected.'
 Teich, vb.
 Wreche } sb.
 Wretchis }

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Awach, vb., 'watch.'
 About-speche, 'circumlocution.'
 Brechins, stuffing to prevent hames
 from galling horse's neck.
 Cuchill, 'forest or grove' (cf. 'queech'
 in Mod. Suffolk dialect).
 Fet, 'to prepare.'
 Feche, vb., 'fetch,' etc.
 Hachis, 'hatches.'
 Ich, 'each.'
 Lech, 'a doctor.'
 Mich, 'much.'
 Sichand, 'sighing' (but perhaps *ch*
 here = front open consonant?).
 Sprach } 'howling'
 Spreich }
 Wache, 'watchman.'
 Wrache, 'a wretch.'
 Wrechis, pl.

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Reche, adj.
 Skrech, 'shriek.'
 Tech, vb.
 Vytches, 'witches.'

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Drechhand (in MSS. Harl. and
 Egerton), 108. 10.
 Riche, adj., 33. 11.
 Speches, sb., 18. 4.
 Teche, inf., 93. 12.
 Wichand } 'witching, charming,' 58. 6.
 Wicchand } MS. Egerton has wiccand.
 Wrecches, 136. 3.
 Wrechedhede, 11. 6.
 Wretchednes, 106. 10.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Rich, adj.
 Wreche, sb. and adj.
 Speche, sb.
 Spech, vb.
 zicche, sb., 'gout.'

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Feched.
 Wretche, sb.

Prk. of Consec., Yorks., before 1349.

Leche, 'physician.'
 Reche, 'to reach.'
 Wiche, 'a witch.'

Sir Gaw., North., 1366.

Brachez, 'hounds.'
 Drechch, 'hurt.'

Foch, vb., 'fetch.'
 Iche, 'each.'
 Lach, vb., 'take.'
 Riche, vb., 'reach.'
 Ryched, p.p., 'enriched.'
 Seech, vb.

Townl. Myst., Yorks., 1450.

Dreche, 'to afflict.'
 Ich = 'I,' an imitation of Southern.
 'Take out that Sothern tothe' is
 said to the person who uses the
 word 'ich.'
 Ich = 'each.'

*Wars of Alex., Yorks.; Late
 Fifteenth Century.*

Biche.
 Drechet, p.p., 'vexed, spoilt.'
 Feche, vb.
 Liche, 'body.'
 Macchis, 'mates.'
 Meche, 'great.'
 Riche, adj.
 Reche, vb., 'to reach.'
 Seche (and Seke).
 Siche, 'such.'
 Wriche, sb.

Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.

a Bechetre, 'fagus.'
 a Bych, 'licista.'
 a Fiche, 'vicia.'
 a Leche, 'medicus.'
 Riche, 'copiosus.'
 a Speche, 'colloquium.'
 to Teche.
 a Weche, 'veneficus.'
 Kychyn, 'coquina.'

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Ache, sb. and vb. (rhymes to Spinache).
 Bitch.
 Blache } sb.
 Bletche }
 Rich.
 Pich, 'corbiculus.'
 to Mych.
 a Ditch.
 Itche, sb.
 Stitch, sb.
 Pitch, 'pix.'
 a Wrytch, 'miser.'
 Flitch.
 Witche.

to Fetch.
 to Reche, 'distendi.'
 to Stretch.
 Speach, 'sermo.'
 Beach.
 to Bleach, 'candidare.'
 to Teache.
 Horseleache.

Allit. P. Lanos., 1360.

Aliche, 'alike.'
 Biseche, vb.
 Biteche, vb.
 Brych, 'filth' ?
 Cleche, 'to receive, take.'
 Dych, 'ditch.'
 Feche, subj. of vb.
 Hach }
 Hacche } 'hatch' of a ship.
 Lache }
 Lache } vb., 'to take.'
 Lache, vb., 'hitch' (cf. Dial. to lutch).
 Mach }
 Machche } 'make, fellow.'
 Pich, 'pitch.'
 Racchche, 'to go.'
 Rych, sb.
 Rich, adj.
 Seche, vb.
 Smach, 'scent, smell.'
 Streche, vb.
 Whiche, 'ask.'
 Wrache }
 Wrech } 'vengeance.'
 Wreche, 'wretched.'
 Wrech }
 Wrechche } 'wretch.'
 Wyche-crafte.

Met. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Burliche, 'hurl.'
 (he) Clechis, 'seizes.'
 Foche, imperat.
 Haches, 'hay-racks.'
 Ich, 'each.'
 Machet, 'matched.'
 Muche.
 Quych, 'which.'
 Rechs, 'reeks,' vb.
 Richest, adj.
 Seche }
 Siche } 'such.'
 Suche }
 Suche, vb., 'seek.'
 Wurlych, 'worthy.'
 Wrechut, adj.

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Eche, adj., 'eternal.'
 Fecchenn, vb.
 Iecchenn.
 Læchenn, 'cure.'
 Læche, sb.
 Lacchenn, vb., 'catch.'
 Riche, 'kingdom.'
 Riche, adj.
 Racchess, sb. pl.
 Tæchenn, vb.
 Spæche, sb.
 Macche, sb., 'mate.'
 Wræche, 'vengeance.'
 Wrecche, adj. and sb.
 Wicche-cræftess.
 Wecche, sb.

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Swich.
 Cunriche, 'kingdom.'
 Leche, 'physician.'
 Lich, 'like.'
 Ich, y, and I.
 Ihe.

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Fече } vb.
 Fette } perf.
 Leches, 'physicians.'
 Liche, adj.
 Picched, p.p. (perf. is pight).
 Reche, vb.
 Teche, vb.
 Wicche-craft.
 Wreche, vb., 'vindicate.'

Hali Maidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

Richedom, 3.
 into Drecchunge, 7.
 Bisechen, 11.
 Bruche, 'breach,' 11.
 Bruchele, 'brittle,' 13.
 Smechunge, 'tasting,' 13.
 Ich.
 Wicchen, 33.
 Stiches, 'pains,' 35.
 Fliche, 37.
 Wlecche, adj. or adv., 43.
 Wrecch, sb., 47.
 Iliche, 'like,' 19.

Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.

Areche, 'to reach.'
 Dreche, 'disturb' (Alis).

Eche.
 Erliche.
 Hache.
 Hacches } pl.
 Haches }
 Ich.
 Ich, 'each.'
 Lachen, 'rob, catch.'
 Leche, 'physician.'
 Liche, 'like.'
 Miche, 'great.'
 Michel.
 Muchel.
 Uch, 'each.'
 Wicche }
 Wicched } p.p., 'bewitch.'
 Wreche, 'revenge.'
 Wreche, 'to revenge.'
 Reching, 'explanation.'
 Riche, 'kingdom.'
 Seche, 'to seek.'
 Swiche, 'such.'
 Misse-spech, 'evil report.'
 Werche } vb.
 Wirch }
 Miswerche, vb.
 Kichen.
 Marche, 'boundary' (Alis).

Earliest Eng. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Michel, 91. 5.
 Techeþ, 93. 10.
 Secheþ, 4. 3.
 Whiche, 13. 6.
 Bisechen, 26. 7.
 Liche to, 27. 1.
 Ich, passim (commonest form of pr.,
 but i and y occur).
 Chirche, 21. 26.

Mirc., Salop, 1400.

Myche, 'much.'
 Dedlyche.
 Onlyche.
 Seche, 'to seek.'
 Sych, 'such.'
 Uche, 'each.'
 Lych-wake.
 Worchche, vb.
 Worchunge, sb.

MS. Harl., 2,253, Heref., 1310.

Areche, p.p.
 i Byseche.
 Bysechinge.
 Bysechen, vb.

Bruche, 'breach.'
 Dreccheþ, vb.
 Echen, 'to increase.'
 Ich.
 Kyneriche.
 Leche, 'medicus.'
 Liche, adj.
 Muchele.
 Muche.
 Recche, vb.
 Riche, adj.
 Riche, sb.
 Seche, vb.
 Speche, sb.
 Such.
 Suche.
 Techen, sb.
 Wycche, 'witch.'
 Wrecche, sb. and adj.

Worc. Gloss., Twelfth Century.

Imæcca, 'conjux.'
 Wicche, 'phitonissa.'
 Sticels, 'aculeus.'
 Misliches, 'bless, discolor.'
 Ticchen, 'hædus.'
 Blacern, 'lichinus.'
 Stucche, 'frustrum.'
 Ic bore.
 Lic, 'corpus.'
 Ilches.

Lazoman, Worcs., 1205.

Æchen, vb., 'increase.'
 Arechen, 'interpret.'
 Areche, vb., 'touch.'
 Atsechen.
 Bæch, 'valley.'
 Bisechen }
 Bisechen }
 Bitæche } vb., 'deliver, give.'
 Biteichen }
 Bi-wricched.
 Crucche, 'crutch.'
 Cuchene.
 Kuchene.
 Dich.
 Diches.
 Fæchen.
 Ilecche }
 Echne, acc. } 'each.'
 Ich (and ic) }
 Hich } 'I.'
 Læche.
 Læches } 'hooks.'
 Leches }
 Lich.

Lic (both MSS.).
 ·Iliche, 'like.'
 Muchele, 'gnat.'
 ·Riche, 'realm.'
 Ricche, adj.
 Rehchen } 'to reck.'
 [Reche] }
 Ræcchen, 'tell, explain.'
 Quecchen, 'move, escape,' etc.
 Sæchen.
 ·Sechen.
 Spæche } sb.
 Speche }
 Stucchen } 'pieces.'
 [Sticches] }
 I-tæchen, vb., 'give.'
 Wræcche }
 [Wrecche, wrech] } 'a poor man.'
 Prucche, 'to thrust.'
 Awachede, 'arose.'

Songs and Carols, Warw., 1400.

Dyche, 58.

Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.

Qwyche, 31.
 Morn speches, 45.
 Mechil.
 Fecche, 76.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Bycche (Bycke, P.), 'bitch.'
 Byschypryche (bysshoperike, P.).
 Hytchyn, 'moveo.'
 Iche (or Yeke).
 Latchyn, 'catch.'
 Leche, 'medicus.'
 Lyche, 'dede body.'
 Match (or Make), compar.
 Rechyn } 'atingo.'
 A-retchyn }
 Watche, or Wakyng.
 Wytch, 'maga,' etc.
 Wretch }
 Wretchyd }
 Psyche, or Pyk.
 Ichyn, or Ykyn.
 Hetche (and Hek) of a door.

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Briche, adj., 379.
 Dreccheð, 103.
 Eche, 'eternal,' 176, 177.
 Feccheð, 242.
 Fecchen, inf., 352.

Heuenriche, 378.
 Meche, 'mate,' 716.
 Reche, vb., reck, 714.
 Riche, sb. 28.
 Witches, sb. pl. (Morris writes wicches
 in text, but states in a footnote
 that the MS. has form with *-teh.*)

Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.

Drechede, 'delayed.'
 Drechen, 'to delay.'
 Fechen, 'to fetch.'
 Feichden, 'fetched' (2,889). (*Very
 early example of -teh.*)
 Gruching, 'murmuring.'
 Kinge-riches, 'kingdoms.'
 Lich } 'body.'
 Liche }
 Lichles, 'corpseless.'
 Michil }
 Michel } 'great.'
 (and Mikel) }
 Rechede, 'interpreted.'
 Rechen, inf.
 Speche, sb.
 Techen, 'to teach.'
 Wiches, 'magicians.'
 Wreche } 'vengeance.'
 Wrech }
 Wreches, sb. pl.

Bokenham. Before 1447. Suffolk.

Seche, St. Agn., 32, etc.
 (and Seke), St. Agn., 33.
 Swyche, passim.
 Feche, inf., 799, Kath.
 (and to fette), 679, St. Cycyle.
 I Beseche, Prol., 69.
 Lych, 'like,' Mary, 631.
 Lyche to lyche, St. Anne, 239.

Wycliffe.

Whiche, 'hutch,' X.
 Holiliche, X.
 Lichy, adj., MM.
 Rechelones, LL.
 Sacchis, 'sacks,' X.
 Smacchen, vb., 'smack, taste,' CC.

Chaucer.

Bēchen, adj.
 Birch.
 Bleche, vb., 'bleach.'
 Boch, sb.
 Breech, sb.

Dichen, vb.
 Dich.
 Drecche, vb.
 Ech, adj.
 Eche, vb.
 Everich.
 Fecchen.
 Fecche, 'vetches.'
 Mechel.
 Mochel.
 Muchel.
 Overmacche.
 Pich.
 Recche, 'reck, care.'
 Recche, 'interpret.'
 Reche, 'to reach.'
 Riche, adj.
 Seche, vb.
 Speche, sb.
 Strecche, vb.
 Teche, vb.
 Wreche, sub. and adj.
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'
 Hacches, sb.
 Leche, 'physician.'
 Liche, adj., 'like.'
 Lich-wake.
 Wacche, sb., 'a sentinel.'

Polit. S., Middle of Fifteenth Century.

Wreche, 'wreak.' } vol. ii, fr. Cotton
 Seche, 'seek.' } Rolls, 11. 23.
 Smacchith, vol. ii, p. 64. MS.
 Digby, 41.

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Beseche, 1 sing.
 Bruche, sing., 'wound.'
 Cwiche, 3 sing. pres. (1254).
 Eche, 'eternal.'
 Lich, 'body.'
 Stucchen, sb. pl.
 Rich, 'kingdom.'
 Smecheð, 'tasteth.'
 Wecchen, sb., pl.
 Wreche, adj.

R. of Glos., 1300.

Breche, sb.
 Dich, sb.
 Eche, vb., 'increase.'
 Fecche, vb.
 Ich, 'I.'
 Kyneriche.
 Recche, vb., 'reck.'
 Reche, vb.

Seche, vb.
 Suiche, 'such.'
 Syche, vb., 'sigh.'
 Vecche, 'fetch.'
 Vreche, sb., 'wreak, vengeance.'
 Wrecche, adj.
 Wreche, sb., 'revenge.'

St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

Ich.
 Muche, 59.
 Wreche, adj., 225.
 Wiche, sb., 169.
 I ne reche, 'I reckon not,' 19.

P. Plow., Glos., 1363-93.

Biterliche, adv.
 Bisechen (and Biseke).
 Clicche
 Clycchen } vb., 'seize.'
 Clouche
 Clucche
 Diche, sb.
 Dichen, vb.
 Fecchen, vb., 'take
 away.'
 (and Fette), 'fetch, } Note difference
 bring.' of meaning.
 Flicche.
 Flucchen.
 Icham } etc.
 Ich
 Lacchen, vb., 'catch.'
 Liche, vb., 'like.'
 Lich, 'a body.'
 Macche, 'a mate.'
 Reccheles, adj.
 Recche, vb., 'care, reckon.'
 Rechen, vb., 'reach.'
 (Ryke) } adj.
 Riche
 Rycche, sb.
 Thecche, vb.
 pecchyng.
 Top-aches, pl. sb.
 Wechis, sb. pl., 'wakes.'
 Wiche, 'sorcerer.'
 Wyche, 'which.'

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Miche, 'much.'
 Pych, sb.
 Syche, 'seek, follow.'
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'
 Drecche, 'to delay.'
 Hwych.
 Leches, 'physicians.'

Vacche, vb., 'fetch.'
 Wyche, 'which.'
 Quycheh, adv.
 Ych, I, Chille, etc.

St. Editha, Wils., 1400.

Whyche, 2,680.
 Rechelesse, 2,680.
 Sodenlyche, 2,161 or 2,661 (?).
 Ache, sb., 3,713 and 3,726.
 Ich, 'each' (?), 3,957.
 I Beseche, 49, 46.
 Ych { 235 } 'I.'
 I { 245 }
 Y-leyche, 399.
 Icham, 541.
 Fullyche, 219.
 Spousebreche, 743.

St. Jul. (Prose) Dorset, 1200.

Specche, sb., 24.
 Sechen, vb. inf., 50.
 Fecche, imperat., 66.
 Fecchen, inf., 68.
 Pich, sb., 68.
 Wlech, adj., 'lukewarm,' 70.
 Strecchen, 12.
 ich Biseche, 74.
 Eche, adj., 'eternal,' 2.
 Muchel, 4.
 Riche, 4.
 Freoliche, adj., 6.
 Lechnunge, sb., 6.
 Euch, 6.
 Biteachen, vb., 'give up,' 10.
 Ich. passim.
 Swucche, 22.
 Wrecches, 20.
 of Heouenriches, 24.

Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.

Teacheð, 245.
 Hwuch, 245.
 Muchel, 245.
 Rechelese, adj., 245.
 Smechunge, 245.
 Wearliche, adj., 245.
 (he) Seche, 249.
 Ich, 249.
 Wrecchedom, 251.
 Smeche, gen. pl., 251.
 Dreccheð, 251.
 Swuch, 251.
 Echen, inf., 'increase,' 251.
 Hechelunge, 'gnashing of teeth,' 251.
 Pich, 251.

Echnesse, 'eternity,' 251.
 Muche, 255.
 Riche, adj., 257.
 Bisecheð, 259.
 Awecchen, inf., 'arouse,' 267.

Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.

Bisechen.
 i-Bleched, 'bleached.'
 Breche, 'drawers.'
 Eche, 'to ache' (and æke, once).
 Dich, sb.
 Heouenriche.
 Keache-cuppe, 'drunkard' (cf. ceac,
 Ælf. Voc. W.-W., 123. 35, etc.).
 Priches, sb.
 Recheð.
 Reccheð, 'recks.'
 Sechen.
 Smech, 'taste.'
 Smeochen, 'to taste.'
 Speches (and speckes), 'specks.'
 Speche, 'speech.'
 Streccheð.
 Stucchenes, 'pieces.'
 Swuche.
 Techen (tekeðe, MS. Titus).
 penchen, 'think.'
 pinchen.
 Vechchen, 'fetch.'
 Unrechleas, 'indifferent.'
 Warche, 'pain, ache.'
 Wecchen, 'to watch.'
 Wicchecraftes.
 Wrecche, adj.
 Wreche, 'revenge.'
 Wurchen, 'to work.'
 zichunge, 'itching.'
 Sticche, 'a stitch.'
 Kuchene, 'kitchen.'
 Rechless, 'odour, incense.'

O. and N., Dorset, 1246-50.

Ich, Ich, and I, paa.
 Ich, 1220, Cott.
 Ic, Jesus.
 Recche, 'I reck,' 58.
 Evrich, C. } 195.
 Euriche, J. }
 Iliche, 316.
 Riche, 'kingdom.'
 Secheþ, 380.

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.

Barlyche, 'barley.'

*Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38),
 1150.*

O.E. ð written -ch.

Sicchele (sic), Mat., xxvii, 28.
 Sicchele (sic), Mat., xxvii, 30 = O.E.
 sciccelese.
 Fecchen (inf.), Joh., iv, 15.
 Æched, O.E. 'eced,' Lk., xxiii, 36.
 On eche lyf, Joh., vi, 27.
 Echenysse, Joh., vi, 51.
 Openliche, Joh., vii, 10.
 Spræche, sb., Joh., vii, 40.
 (ic)ræche, Joh., xiii, 26.
 Bæch, dat. sing., Mk., i, 2.
 Swahlich, Mat., v, 31.
 Aweccheð, Mat., x, 8.
 Ich and Ic, passim.
 Tichchenan, Mat., xxv, 32.
 Bech, dat. sing., Lk., iii, 4.
 ze-swinchen, Lk., xxii, 28.
 Riche, sb., Lk., xxiii, 51.
 Michele, Lk., xi, 11.

ð written e.

Secan, Lk., xix, 10.
 Rice, Lk., xix, 14.
 Micelen, Lk., xi, 4.
 Receþ, Lk., xxiv, 17.
 Recceþ, Lk., xxiv, 17.
 Ic, passim.

Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.

Riche, sb., 214.
 Rice, adj., 219.
 Moche, 235.
 Wercen, inf., 225.

Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.

Sechen, vb., 3. 17.
 Wurchende, 3. 10.
 Michel, 5. 14.
 Bisecheð, 4. 13.
 Speches, sb., 15. 21.
 Iliche, 15. 23.
 Wrecche, 15. 31.
 Tæchþ, 27. 29.
 Besieche, 21. 30.
 Ech, 'also,' 129. 27.

*Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent. Early
 Thirteenth Century.*

Diches, sb. pl., 41.
 Heueriche, 42.
 Michel, 60, 62, etc.
 ic Recche, 'I reck,' 135.

Smeche, sb., 18.
 Stecche, sb., 'piece,' 191.
 Swich, 80.
 Wonderlicheste, 68.

Kentish Sermons (MS. Laud, 471),
 1200-50.

Medial and final *ċ = ch.*

Speche, Epiph.
 Seches, Epiph., but besekeþ, Second
 Sermon.
 Kinkriche, Epiph.
 Deadlich, Epiph.
 Smech, Epiph, sb.
 Wych, Second Sermon.
 But in þurch, Second Sermon = O.E.
 þurh, *ch* = front open consonant.

Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.

Beches, 'beach-trees.'
 Bezeche, 'to beseech.'
 Bezechinge, 'petition.'
 Blechest, 'hurtest.'
 Bleche, 'pale.'
 Bodiliche, pl. adj.
 Dich, 'ditch.'
 Ech, 'each.'
 Eurich.
 Iliche, 'like.'
 Leche, 'surgeon.'
 Moche.
 Mochel.
 Smech, sb., 'smoke.'

Speche, sb.
 Riche, sb.
 Stech, stecche, O.E. sticce.
 Strechche, vb.
 Techches, 'bad habits.'
 Teche, vb., 'to teach.'
 Wychche, 'a witch.'
 Wreche, 'vengeance.'
 Zeche, 'sack.'
 Zeche, 'to seek.'
 Zuech, 'such.'

Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.

Ech, 96.
 Swich, 197.
 Loplich, 619.
 Pich, 620.
 Ich, 'I,' 1123 (also I, pas.).

Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1315.

Sechen, 136.
 Aschrencheth, 17.
 Sonderliche, 1.
 Ich, 8.
 Lich and lyche, 'body,' 20.
 Rych, sb., 20.
 That thou—werche, 23.
 Adrenche, 3rd sb., 30.
 To the che, 49.
 Areche, vb., 49.
 Opsechemby, 57.
 Speche, 59.
 Bi-wiched, 71.
 By-reche, 96.
 In þe smeche, 96.

III.

Non-initial *-nk*, *-lk*, and *-rk* in M.E.

Barbour.

Bynk } 'bench.'
 Benk }
 Blenkyt, 'looked aside.'
 Drunkyn.
 Venche, 'wench.'
 Stark.
 Byrkis, b.-trees.
 Merk, adj.
 Virk, vb.
 Kirk }
 Kyrk }
 Swilk }

Ilka, 'each.'
 Ilk, 'same.'
 Walk, 'watch,' sb. and vb.

Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Binkis, 'banks' of earth.
 Schrenk, 'to shrink.'
 Spynk, 'chaffinch.'
 Birkis (trees).
 Kirk.
 Wark, sb.
 Wirk, inf.
 Schalk, 'rogue,' etc.

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Benk.
 Benkis, pl.
 Blenke, sb., 'view, glimpse.'
 Schrenkis, vb., 'shrinks.'
 Skinkis, 'pours out.'
 Balk, 'beam.'
 Holkis, 3 sing. pres. }
 Holkit, p.p. } 'to hollow out.'
 Holkand, part.
 Thilk = the ilke.
 Birkis, pl., 'birch-trees.'
 Heedwerk.

Compl. of Scotl., 1649.

Berk, 'to bark.'
 Mirknes.
 Virk.
 Finkil, 'fennel.'
 Thynk, vb.
 Goldspink.
 Ilk, 'each.'

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Drenkenand, 22. 5.
 Strenkil, inf., 'sprinkle,' 50. 9.
 Swink, sb., 9. 28 }
 Swynk, sb., 108. 11 } etc.
 Thinkand, 34. 4.
 Kirke, 34. 18, passim.
 Werkes, sb. pl., passim.
 Wirkes, 3 pl., 5. 7.
 Wirkind, 35. 13.
 Ilk-on, 72. 28.
 Whilk, 34. 27.
 Whilke, 7. 3.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Kirk.
 Werc }
 Werck } sb.
 Wark }
 Warc }
 Warkes.
 Wirk, vb.
 Euerilk.
 Suinc.
 Wrenk, vb., 'wrench.'
 Wrenkes, sb. pl. (also wrenches).

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Ilk, 'each.'
 Whilk.
 Swink.
 Kirk.

Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.

Blenk, 'fault.'
 Rouncele.
 Swynk, 'labour.'
 Think, 'to seem.'
 Wrenk, 'a trick,' etc.
 Ilk, 'each.'
 Welk, vb., 'wither.'
 Sculke, vb.
 Quilk }
 Whilk } 'which.'
 Yholke, 'yolk.'
 Irk, 'to weary of.'
 Kirk.
 Kyrk.
 Merk, 'a mark.'
 Wirk, vb.

Sir Gaw., North., 1366.

Blenk, vb., 'shine.'
 Blonk }
 Blounke } 'white horse.'
 Dronken, 'drunk.'
 Thinkes, 'seems.'
 Kirk.

Townl. Myst., 1450.

Belk, vb.
 Ilk, 'each'
 Kynke, 'to draw the breath audibly.'
 Wark, vb., 'to ache.'

W. W., xviii, Early Fifteenth Century, North.

Spynke, 'rostellus.'
 Bynke, 'scannum.'
 Byrketre.
 Kyrgarth.
 Kyrk.

Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.

Benke. (Ashm. Dubl. MS. only *ch* forms.)
 Drenke, sb., 'drink.'
 Brenke, 'brink.'
 Warke. }
 Wark, Dubl. } 'ache, pain,' sb.
 Derke.
 Derknes (MS. Dreknnes).
 Milke-quite.
 Schalk, sb.

*Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.*Final *nk* in *Catholicon*.

Benke, 'scamnum.'
 Drynke, 'biber.'
 Dronkyn.
 Spynke.
 to Stynke.
 a Stynke.
 Derke.
 Myrke.
 a Warke, 'opus.'
 a Styrrke, 'proeculus.'
 to Wyrke.
 a Kyrke.
 Milke, 'lac.'
 a Wilke } 'conchile.'
 Welke }
 Ilkane.

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Hirk, or Irk, 'tædium.'
 a Kirk.
 Mirke.
 Lurke.
 Worke, sb. and vb.
 Brink.
 Drinke, sb. and vb.
 Chincke, sb.
 Linke, 'torch.'
 Sinke, 'cloaca,' and vb.
 Stinke, sb. and vb.
 Inke.
 Shrinke, vb
 Swinke, vb.
 Thinke.
 Milk, sb and vb.

Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.

Bipenke, vb.
 Renke, 'man.'
 penkande, 'thinking.'
 Ferke up, vb.
 Derk.
 Merk, 'dark,' adj. and sb.
 Ilk.

Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Blenked, 'glanced.'
 Drinkes, sb. pl.
 Stinke, sb.
 (I) Thenke.
 Thinke, inf.
 Wlonkest, adj.
 Ilke, 'same.'
 Welke, 'walked.'
 Werkes, sb. pl.

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Bannkess.
 Bisennkenn.
 Drinnkenn.
 Drunnenenn, 'drown.'
 Bipennkenn.
 Strennkenn, 'sprinkle.'
 Swennkenn, 'vex.'
 Swinnkenn, 'labour.'
 Þannkenn.
 Stinnken.
 Stanne.
 Stunnkenn.
 Sinnkeþþ.
 Swinnc, sb.
 Unne (dual acc.).
 Muncelif.
 Merrke, 'merk.'
 Wirrkenn, 'work,' vb.
 Werrkedagness.
 Weorre, sb.
 Werre.
 Werrkess.
 Starrc.
 Folle.
 Ille, 'each.'
 Illke, 'same.'
 Whille, 'which.'
 Millc.
 Swille.

Havelok, N. E. Midl., 1300.

Arke.
 Herkne, imperat.
 Serk.
 Stark.
 Blenkes, sb. pl.
 Swink, sb.
 Swinken, vb.
 Swilk.

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Blenk, 'trick.'
 Brynke, sb.
 Byþenke, vb.
 þenke.
 Derk, adj.
 Wryke, inf.
 Swylk.

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

þunckeð, 3rd sing., p. 3.
 Stinkinde, 9.
 Swinken, 3rd pl., 29.
 to Werke, dat. of sb., 15.
 Ilke, 46.

Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.

Bonke, 'bank.'
 Dronked, 'drowned, drenched.'
 Penke, 'thick.'
 Derk.
 Ferke, vb.
 Herken, vb.
 Park.
 Ilk.
 Talke.
 Walken.

Mirc., Salop, 1400.

Dronken.
 Swinke, vb.
 Thilk, 'that same.'
 Werkeday.

MS. Harl. 2,263, Heref., 1310.

Clynken, 'to resound.'
 Dronke, adj., 'drunk.'
 Scrynke } vb., 'shrink.'
 Skrynke }
 Stynken, vb.
 Swynke, vb.
 Swynk, vb.
 ich penke.
 penken, inf.
 me punkeþ.
 Ilke.

Laz., Worcs., 1205.

Boncke (dat.).
 Drinc.
 Drænc.
 Dringke.
 [Dronke.]
 Rinkas, pl.
 pankie.
 Scenc, 'draught.'
 Swinkeþ }
 Swonc } vb.
 Swunke }
 Dorcke, adj.
 pirkede, 'darkened.'
 Weorc, werc, wærc, sb.
 Chirc-lond (cf. chuc = chirc. O.E.
 Hon., 1st series, pt. i, p. 9).
 Milc, sb.
 Swilc }
 Swulke }
 Talkie, vb.

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Drinkeð, 142.
 Drinken, inf., 133.

Sinken, 538.
 Swinkeð, 235.
 Bipeken, 94.
 ðenkeð, 449.
 Ilk, 'each,' 97.
 Swilk, 440.
 Swile, 336.
 Wilc, 'which,' 5.
 Kirke, 93.
 Werkeð, vb., 498.
 Werk, sb., 442.

Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.

Drinc, sb.
 Drinken, vb.
 Forsanc, 'sank entirely.'
 Hinke, 'fear, dread.'
 Senkede (= Schenkede).
 Stinc.
 Stinken, 'stinking.'
 Swinc, sb., 'toil.'
 Swinken, vb.
 Forhirked, 'tired of.'
 Merke, 'boundary.'
 Werken '(they) work.'
 Folc. }
 Folkes }
 Ilc } 'each.'
 Ilk }
 Quile, 'what, which.'
 Quilke (pl.), 'which.'
 Swile, 'such.'
 Walkene, 'welkin.'
 Welkede, 'withered.'

Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.

Qwilk, 37.
 Euere-ilk, 56.
 Werkys, sb. pl.
 Kyrk, 87, and passim.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Menkte, 'mixtus.'
 Werk, 'opus.'
 Werke, 'operor.'
 Werkyn, or 'heed akyn.'
 zelke of egge.

Bokenham, Suffolk, 1447.

Thylk, Mary, 947.

Chaucer.

Dirk }
 Dark } adj.
 Stork.

Stark, 'strong.'

Werk

Werkes, vb.

Stinke, vb.

Stink.

Brink.

Thanke.

Thonke.

Thank.

Thenke, 'think, seen.'

Swinke, vb.

Swink, sb.

Sinke.

Inke, sb.

Drinke, sb.

Drinke

Drank

Dronken } vb.

Drunken

Winke, vb.

Milk, sb.

Welken, sb.

Welken, vb.

Walken.

Stalke, vb.

Ilke, adj.

Balke, 'a beam.'

Talke, vb.

Stalke, 'a stalk.'

Wycliffe.

Werk-bestis, 'plough-oxen,' x.

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Smirkinde, participle.

Swinkes, gen. sing.

St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

pulke, 104.

R. of Glos., 1300.

Biswinke, vb.

Blenkte }

Blencte }

Ilke.

Melc, sb.

Stinkinde.

Suinke } vb.

Swinke }

pelke, 'that.'

penke, 'to think.'

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Bolke, 'eructation.'

penken, vb.

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Ilke, 'same.'

Forþynk, 2 pl. pr.

Sterk, 'stiff.'

St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.

Werkus, sb., passim.

I thenk, 3,764.

Powe þenk, 640.

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

þonckes, 'thoughts,' 42.

þonken, inf., 'thank,' 68.

Suncken, p.p., 78.

Sinken, inf., 28.

Cwenct.

Starcke, 78.

Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.

Swinc, 263.

Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.

Stinken.

Stenk, sb.

Swinken.

Swinc, sb.

Were, sb.

Skulken, 'slink along.'

Wohinge of ure lauerd (by author of above).

penke, imperat., 279.

to penken, 287.

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants, 1327.

Wark-man, A.

Worke, vb., printed copy.

Wyrke, vb., Manchester MS.

Brink (printed copy has *brenche*).

Usages of Winchester, circ. 1360.

Work } sb., 351.

Wark } sb., 351.

me Workeþ, 350.

pulke } 'those,' 354.

pelke } 356.

pilke } 356.

þt ylke stat, 362.

Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.
 Wurc, sb., 223.

Vices and Virtues, Kentish, 1200.
 Workes, sb., 3. 14.
 Wolkne, 103. 23.
 Drinken, vb. inf.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.
 Swingke, vb.
 i Suinc.
 me pingh (*pinkþ).

a Worke, dat., 11.
 Werkes }
 Workes } gen.

Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.

Azenkte, 'sank,' trans. vb.
 Drinke, sb.
 Drinkeres.
 Stinkinde.
 Pank, sb.
 Ilke, 'same.'
 Milk, sb.
 Workinde, 'working.'
 Workes, sb.

IV.

Non-initial *-nch, -lch, -rch* in M.E.

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.
 Clynschis, vb., 'rivets.'
 Drinchit, p.p., 'enveloped.'
 Quenschit, p.p.
 Belch, 'a swelled, fat fellow'
 Pilchis, sb. pl., kind of garment.
 Marchis, 'boundaries.'

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.
 Wenches, sb. pl., 67. 26.

Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1349.
 Wrynychand, 'wriggling.'

Wars of Alex., Late Fifteenth Century.
 Benche (Dub).
 Drenchid, p.p., 'drowned.'
 Hanchyd, 'gnawed, eaten.'
 Worche, vb.

Cursor Mundi, 1300.
 Wrenches, sb. pl.

Levins, Yorks., 1570.
 Lurch, vb., 'lie hid.'
 Milch, sb. and vb.
 Belche, sb. and vb.

Stinch, sb. and vb.
 Linche, sb. and vb.
 Kintch (of wood).
 Goldfinch.
 Bench }
 Binch }

Allit P., Lancs., 1360.

Blenche, 'stratagem.'
 Quenche.
 Wrenche, 'device.'
 Worche, vb.
 Wercher, sb.

Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Wenche, 'girl.'
 Wurche, vb.

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Bennche.
 Swennchen, vb.
 Swinnchen, vb.
 Stinnch, sb.
 Wenschell, 'child.'
 Drinnch, 'drink, draught.'

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

Penchen, 3.
 Puncheð, 15.
 Pu swenchest, 35.
 Wurchen.

Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Wirchen, inf., 5. 6.
penchand, 8. 5.

MS. Harl., 2253, Heref., 1310.

Adrenche, vb.
Freynsshe } French.
Frenshe }
Schenchen, vb., 'give to drink.'
penchen, inf.
pench, imperat.
punchē.
punchēþ.
Chirche.
Worche, 2 sing. subj.
Wurcheþ } 3 sing.
Worcheþ }

Laz., Worcs., 1205.

Ælch. alch } 'each.'
Elches }
Hwulche, 'such.'
Bench.
Drinchen } vb.
and Drinken }
Drunchen, p.p.
Drench, sb.
Drinches } n. pl., d.
Drenchen }
Swencheð, pl.
[Swinkeþ.] }
punchēð } 'seemeth.'
[pincheþ] }
[Senche], 'draught.'
Scenchen, vb., 'pour out.'
Chirche.
Churchen.
Chiric-lond { cf. Chuczong = Chirc-
zong, Morris' O.E.
Hom., First Series,
pt. i, p. 9.
Wurche } vb.
Urchen }
[Werche, weorche, wirche] }
[Worch], sb., also weorc, etc.

Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.

Drink, vb.
Chirche-gong.
Churches.
Werchen, 'to work.'

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Quenching, 207.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Benche, sb.
Wrenche (idem quod slythe).
Byrchetre.
Marche.
Mylke or Mylke of a cowe. (Under
Mylke stands 'idem quod mylche,' as
if this were the usual form.)
Bokenham, before 1447, Suffolk, has
Cherche.
Eng. Guilds, Norf., 1389, has Chyrche,
Chirche.

Chaucer.

Monche, vb.
Thenche, vb.
Wenche, sb.
Quenche.
Inche, sb.
Wrenches, 'frauds.'
Worcheth, vb.
Worcher, sb.
Wirche } vb.
Werche }
Finch.
Drenchen, vb.
Bench, sb.
Benched, p.p.

Wyoliffe.

Dryncching, 'drowning,' X.
Werchyngē, sb., 'influence,' X.
Worche } inf., X.
Worsche }
Warche, inf., CC.

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

penchen, 'to think.'
punchen, 'to seem.'
Wrenchen, 'to entice.'
Kenchen, 'to laugh.'
Shrenchten, 'cheated.'
Wurchen, vb.

R. of Glos., 1300.

Abenche.
Blenche, inf.
Drench, sb.
Drenche, vb., 'drown.'
Ofþencheþ } 'repenteth.'
Ofthincheþ }
Stenche, vb.

Suench } sb.
 Swench }
 Swinch.
 Schenche, vb., 'pour out.'
 penche, vb.
 penches.
 penchest.
 Wurche, sb. and vb.
 Wourche, vb.

St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

pench, inf., 52.
 Drenche, inf., 91.
 penche, inf., 92.
 pench, imperat.

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Benche, sb.
 Quenche }
 Quenche }
 Quenche }
 penche, 2 pres. sb., 'think.'
 Worchen }
 Werche } vb.

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Blenche, vb., 'turn aside.'
 Drench, 'a drink.'
 Werche, vb.

St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.

pou Worchest, 2686.
 Wyrche, inf., 2926.

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

Senchtest, 32.
 Schrenchen, 34, inf., 'shrink.'
 Schunchen, 34, 'to be terrified.'
 bipencheð, 42, 'considers.'
 him puncheð, 42, 'seems good.'
 Wrenchen, 42.
 Cwenchte, pret., 68.
 Blenchte, 72.
 Senchte, 'sank,' 78.
 Adrenchten, 'drowned,' 78.
 For puncheð, 'grieves,' 16.
 Bipench, 20, imperat.
 For senchtest, 60.
 Wurchen, inf.
 Wurch, imperat, 16.

Sawles Warde, Dorset, 1210.

Wernches = wrenches, 'devices,' 245.
 Stench, sb.
 pencheð, imperat., 251.
 funcheð, 'it seems,' 257.
 a Filche clut, 253.

Ancr. Riv., 1225, Dorset.

Bi-senchen, 'bank.'
 Unwrench, 'wicked artifice.'
 Wenchel, 'a maid.'
 Stunch, 'a stench.'
 Ilchere, 'every.'
 Kelche-cuffe.

Wohunge of ure Lawerd (by author of above).

Drinch, 283 (twice), sb.
 Dunchen, 3rd pl., 283.

O. and N., Dorset, 1246-1250.

Hit pincheþ, 225.
 Bipenche, 471.
 Blenches, 378, sb.
 Goldfinch, J. } 1130.
 Goldfinc, Cot. }
 Unwrenche, sb., 169.
 Me þunchþ, 1651. But Me þunchþ,
 1672.
 Wurchen, vb., 408.
 Wirche, inf., 722.
 Chirche, 721.

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants., 1327.

Werche, inf., A.
 Brenche (printed copy), MS. has brink.
 Clenche, vb., 'cling to.' Sutherland
 MS., end of fourteenth century.

Usages of Winchester, circ. 1360.

Werche, inf.

Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.

Ælchen, Lk., xix, 36.
 Swilce, Lk., xxiii, 14 and 17.
 ic Werche, Joh., iv, 34.
 ic Wyrce, Lk., xxiii, xi.
 Chyrcean, Mat., xvi, 18.
 Awenchen, Joh., xi, 11.
 Beþencheþ, Lk., xxxiv, 6.
 ze-swinchen, Lk., xxii, 28.
 Werchte, Lk., x, 7, sb., 'labourer.'

Vespas, A. 22. Kent, 1200.

Adrenche, 215.
 penche, 217.
 zeswince, 219.
 Ele, 231.

O.E. *nē, lē, rē.**Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.*

Pinche, sb., 3. 31.
 Drenkch, sb., 87. 29.
 Swilch, 3. 28.
 Wurchende, 3. 10.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.). Kent. Early Thirteenth Century.

Adrenche, vb.
 Bipeñche, 6.
 Ofpeñcheþ, 10.
 Quenche, inf., 152.
 Iswinch, vb., 36.
 Iswinch, sb., 57.
 Penchen, inf, 62.

Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.

Adrenche, vb.
 Bench.
 Bepeñche, 'to remind.'
 Bepeñcheþ, 3 sing.
 Blench.
 Drenche, vb.
 Drench, sb.
 Stench, sb.
 penchinges.
 penche, vb.
 Wrench, 'craft.'
 Zuynche, vb.
 Zuynch, sb.
 Kuenche, vb.
 Cherche.

V.

The *-einte* forms.O.E. *-nēt* = *-nt* in M.E. with diphthongization of preceding vowel.*Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522.*

Drint, 'drowned.'
 Quent, p.p., 'quenched.'

MS. Harl. 2,253, Heref., 1310.

Dreynt, p.p., 'drowned.'
 Seint, p.p., sunk.
 Wreint, p.p., 'tormented.'

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Adreinte, p.p.

Mirc., Salop, 1400.

I-queynt, 'quenched.'

Lazamon, Worcs., 1205.

Adrente
 [Adreint] } pret.
 [Adreinte]
 Adreingte
 [Aseint], pret.
 Aseingde, pret.
 Bleinte, pret.

Chaucer.

Queynt, pret.
 Dreynte, pret.
 Bleynte, pret.

St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

Adreynte, pret., 224.

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Dreynte, pret.
 Bleynt.

R. of Glos., 1300.

Adreynt }
 Adreint } pret.
 Adreincte }
 Aseincte } 'sunk.'
 Aseint }
 Bleynte = Bleynte.
 Bleincte, 3 sing. pret.
 Dreinte, 3 sing.
 Dreynt, p.p.

P. Plow., Glos., 1362-93.

Queynte, p.p.

VI.

O.E. *-it* (*id*) = *-cht*; *-ght* in M.E.*Gav. Douglas*, 1475-1522.

Picht, p.p., 'pitched.'

Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Piȝte, p.p., 'pitched.'

R. of Glos., 1300.

Piȝt, 'poet.'

Piȝte, p.p.

Schriȝte, 3 pret. s.

Pliȝte, p.p.

Plyȝte, 3 sing.
Ypliȝt, 'pledged.'*Mirc., Salop*, 1400.White ('strong, active') = wight
= *wicht = *quicced?*Chaucer.*

Twight, p. of twicchen.

Streighte, pt. s. of strechen.

Reighte, rechen.

Prighte, pret. of prikken = *pricchen.

VII.

Non-initial O.E. γ non-fronted, and = *gh*, *w*, etc., in M.E.*Barbour.*

Low, 'a flame.'

Law, adj., 'low.'

Lownyt, 'sheltered.'

Aw, 'thou oughtest.'

Bow-draucht, 'a bow-shot.'

Dawit

Dawned } p.p.

Dawyn

Dawis (and Dayis).

to Draw.

Enew.

Fallow, 'to follow.'

Fallow, 'a fellow.'

Saw, sb., 'a saying.'

Slew, 'struck.'

Sla, 'to slay.'

All-thouch.

Borwch, 'a pledge.'

Burch, 'borough.'

Dreuch, 'drew'

Eneuch (and Enew).

Holche (cf. Chaucer, halke), 'a corner,
lurking-place.'

Heych, 'high.'

Sleuch, 'slew.'

Laigh.

Lauchand, 'laughing.'

Lawch and law, 'low.'

Mawch, 'kinsman.'

Through, 'through.'

Pleuch, 'a plough.'

Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Bow (for shooting).

Fowl.

Beuche, 'bough.'

Dearch, 'dwarf.'

Lauchis, 'laughs.'

Pleuch.

Teuch, adj., 'tough.'

Heich

Hecher } 'high.'

He

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Aucht, 'eight.'

Daw, 'day.'

Dawing, 'daybreak.'

Dowchtie, adj.

Fla, 'a flea.'

Houch.

Magh, 'son-in-law.'

Rowch, adj., 'rough.'

Sauch, 'a willow.'

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Aneuch, 'enough.'

Burcht } 'burgh.'

Burcht }

Cleuchis, 'dells.'

Heuch, 'steep valley.'

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Aghe-fulle, adj., 74. 8.
 Fogheles, 'birds,' 7. 9.
 Haleghs, sb. pl., 36. 28 (back or front?)
 Sagh, sb., 36. 25.
 Slough, sb., 'slough,' 39. 3.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Lagh, sb., 'a lie' (Fairf.).
 Lighes, 2 sing. vb.
 Togh, adj.
 Foghul.
 Loghand, past pres.
 Logh, 3 pl. pret.
 Laghes, 3 pl. pres.
 Sagh, vb. and sb., 'to saw.'
 Magh, 'relation.'
 Plogh, sb.
 Sagh, 'a saying.'
 Tifted, 3 sing.
 Tift, p.p.
 Lawze, 'a laugh.'
 Lowen, 3 pl. (Trinity).
 Fouul.
 Foghuls.
 Foghul.
 ? Fouxl.
 ? Foxul, etc.
 Lou, 'flame, blaze.'

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Aghe, 'fear.'
 Eghen, 'eyes.'
 Neghed, 'approached.'

Prk. of Conso., Yorks., (before) 1349.

Agh, 'ought.'
 Boghes, 'boughs.'
 Boghsom }
 Bousom }
 Bousom }
 Bughsam }
 Felaghe.
 Gnawen, p.p.
 Halghe, adj.
 Halghe, sb. }
 Hallow }
 Lagh } 'a law.'
 Laghe }
 Lagh, vb., 'laugh.'
 Maghes, 'moths.'
 Sla, vb.
 Slouh, sb., 'slough.'
 Slaghe, pret. of 'sla.'

Swelge, vb., 'swallow.'
 Pof }
 Pogh } 'though.'
 Poghe }
 Wazhe, 'wall.'
 Warlau, 'wizard.'
 Wawes, 'waves.'
 Worow, 'to strangle.'

Sir Gaw., North., 1366.

Azt, 'owned.'
 Bawe-men.
 Bozes, 'boughs.'
 Brozes, 'brows.'
 Drazes, 'draws.'
 Halawed.
 Haz-thorne. (Note the open cons. z here.)
 Holz, 'hollow.'
 Inogh }
 Inoz } 'enough.'
 Innowe }
 Lawe, 'mount.'
 Lazed }
 Lazter }
 Laz } 'low.'
 Lag }
 Rogh } adj.
 Roꝝ }
 Saw } 'saying.'
 Saze }
 Swoghe, 'silence.'
 Thaz, 'though.'
 Borz } 'borough, city.'
 Burz }

Since both spellings, 'saze, sawe,' occur, it looks as if 'saze' were the traditional spelling, and 'sawe' the real pronunciation.

Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1480.

Holgh, 'hollow.'
 Lagh, 'law.'
 Leghe, 'a lie.'
 Saghe, 'a saying.'
 Saghe, 'saw.'
 Soghe } 'a sow.'
 Sowch¹ }
 Steghe, 'a ladder.'
 Swoghe, 'sound of waves.'
 Thrughe, 'flat gravestone.'
 Wawghes, 'waves.'

¹ Note spelling, shows these words all had C.

W.-W., xviii, North., Fifteenth Century.

Dagh, 'pasta.'
 Maw, sb.
 Helbow.
 Trogh.
 Plogh, 'ararum.'

Wars of Alex., Yorks., late Fifteenth Century.

Azhe } 'awe.'
 Age }
 Balgh, adj., 'swelling out.'
 Boghe, 'bough.'
 Burgh } 'city.'
 Burghis } pl.
 Drawes }
 Drazes }
 Dwaze, 'feeble creature.'
 Enoze }
 Enogh }
 Enowe (Dub. only) }
 Hozes, 'houghs.'
 Laghe } 'low.'
 Lawe }
 Lawe, 'mountain.'
 Loze, sb., 'lake.'
 Rogh, adj.
 Sagh, 'saw' (Dub.).
 Sage } 'I saw.'
 Saghe }
 Sighes, pres. sing.
 pof, 'though.'
 Toghid, p.p., 'tugged.'
 Warlow (Dub.), 'deceiver' = warlock.
 Lazand } 'laughing.'
 Lazter }

Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.

Coghe, 'ubi hoste.'
 Troghe }
 Trowghe, A. } Aucus.
 Thrughe }
 Throghe, A. } 'a coffin.'
 a Slughe, 'scama.'
 to Saghe a tre.
 a Saghe.
 Rughe, 'hirsutus.'
 Salghe, 'salix.'
 Falghe }
 Falowe, A. } vb.
 a Dwarghe, 'tantulus' (note).
 Borgh, 'fridcursor.'
 Borgham, 'epiphium.'
 Arghe, 'pusillanimus.'
 a Plughe wryghte.
 to Plowghe.

a Ploghe, 'ararum.'
 Plugh, A., vb.
 a Mughe.
 to Mughe, 'hay.'
 to Mughe, 'posse.'
 Marghe, 'medulla.'
 to Laghe, 'ridere.'
 an Hawghe, 'circum.'
 Enoghe.
 Dæghe, 'pasta.'

Medial and Final O.E. $\gamma = w$ in Catholicon.

to Sawe, 'severe.'
 Outelawry } 'scucula,'
 } 'exilium.'
 a Mawe, 'iecur.'
 Lawe.
 Lawghe, A.
 an Hawe tre.
 Hawlowe } 'celebrare.'
 Halowe, A. }
 an Elbowe, 'lacetus.'
 to Draw up.
 Dewe, 'ros.'
 to Daw, 'diescere.'
 to Awe, 'debere.'
 to Bowe downe.
 a Bowe, 'archus.'
 to be Slawe.
 Rowe, 'crudus.'

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Bough.
 Chough.
 Cough.
 Plough.
 Slough.
 Trough.
 Roughe.
 Tough.

All these words are said by L. to rhyme.

Daw (or Daugh) = 'dough.'
 Hawe.
 Lawe.
 Mawe.
 to Sawe wood.
 Strawe.
 Daugh } rhyme.
 to Laugh }

Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.

Bor γ , 'city.'
 Boze, 'bough.'
 Dagter.

Laghe } 'low.'
 Loz }
 Innoghe, innoze, 'enough.'
 Lage, 'to laugh.'
 Sorz, 'sorrow.'
 Prych, 'through.'

The spelling schazede, 'showed,'
 implies that z had become w in this
 dialect.

Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Awen, 'own.'
 Boes, 'boughs.'
 Drozhe } 'draw.'
 Drozghe }
 Inuzhe, 'enough.'
 Lauchet, 'laughs.'
 Ploes, 'ploughs,' sb.
 Pluze, sb. sing.

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Azhe, 'awe.'
 Azhenn, 'to own.'
 Berrzhenn, 'to save.'
 Borzhenn, p.p.
 Bollzhenn, 'displeased.'
 Bozhess, 'boughs.'
 Buzhenn, 'to bow.'
 Feh, 'property.'
 Forrhozhenn, 'to neglect.'
 Follzhenn, 'to follow.'
 Forbuzhenn, 'avoid.'
 Fluzhenn, perf. of 'fleon.'
 Flezhenn, 'to fly.'
 Hezheþþ, 'exalts.'
 Heh, adj.
 Hazherr, 'dexterous.'
 Hallghenn, sb. pl.
 Hallghenn, vb.
 Lazhenn, 'to lower.'
 Lah } 'law.'
 Laghe }
 Ezhe } 'eye.'
 Ebne, gen. pl. }
 Leghenn, 'tell lies.'
 Leghe, 'daily pay.'
 Mezhe, 'female relation.'
 Lozhe, 'fire.'
 Sæzhenn, pl. perf., 'saw.'
 Serrzhe, 'sorrow.'
 Nizhen.
 Neh.
 Muzhenn.
 Ploh.
 Swollzhenn.
 Suhzhenn.
 Stizhenn, 'to go, pass.'

Slozhenn, p.p., 'slain.'
 Sinnzheþþ, 'he sins.'
 Wrezhenn, 'accuse.'
 Wozhe, 'woes.'
 Wazhe, 'wall.'
 Prazhe, 'time, while.'
 Þohh.
 Þurh.
 Burrh, 'city.'
 Dazhess (also Dazgess).
 Deah, 'is worth.'
 Drezhenn, 'to suffer.'
 Drazhenn, 'draw.'
 Dizhellness, 'secrecy.'

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Dawes, 'days.'
 Felowes, 'fellows.'
 Lawe } 'low.'
 Lowe }

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Herborowed, 'lodged.'
 Þoru.
 Boru.

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Awe, 'fear.'
 Sawe, sb.
 Drawe, p.p.
 Lawes, sb.
 Mowe, 'I may.'
 Borewe, sub.
 powh.
 Slough } 'slew.'
 Sloo }
 Draught.
 Saugh, 3 perf., 'sow.'
 Borough.
 Drough, 'drew.'

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

Idrahen, p.p., 5.
 Folheð, 'follows,' 16.
 Lahe, 'law.'
 Sahe, sb., 39, 'a tale.'

Will. of Palerne, W. Midl., 1350.

Alwes, 'saints.'
 Bowes, 'boughs.'
 Bowes, 'inclines.'
 Burw, 'town.'
 Dawe.
 Dawes.
 Droug, 'drew.'

Dwerþ, 'dwarf'
 Felawe.
 Felaschipe.
 Dawe, vb.
 Morwe, 'morning.'
 Mow, 'I may.'
 Sawe, 'saying.'
 Awght, 'owned.'
 Pough.

Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Bow = 'incline,' imperat., 101. 2.
 he Sloge, 'slew,' 104. 27.
 Lawe, 104. 43.
 þat Draweþ, 148. 14.
 þat he Drawe, 9. 32.
 Felawes, 44. 9.
 Halwen, dat. pl., 82. 3.

Miro., Salop, 1400.

Sloghe, 'slew.'
 Azte, 'ought.'
 pagh.
 þorz, 'through.'
 Folghth, 'baptism.'
 Slegth, 'slay.'
 Stegh, 'ascended.'
 Negh, 'nigh.'
 Eghþe, 'eighth.'

MS. Harl., 2253, Heref., 1310.

hit Dawes.
 Hawe (and Heye), 'high.'
 Lawe, sb.
 Mawe.

Woro., Glos., Twelfth Century.

Beah, 'armilla.'
 Dwæruh, 'nanus.'
 Elbowe, 'ulna.'
 Heretowa, 'dux.'

Lazamon, Woro., 1205.

Age, Ahne }
 [Owe, Owene, } adj.
 Ogene] }
 Buge }
 [Bouwe, Bougen] } 'retreat,' etc.
 Dragen }
 Drawe }
 Idrawen }
 Idragen }
 Fohgel-cunne.
 Fugel, Fugel } 'bird.'
 [Fowel] }

Lage } sb.
 [Lawe] }
 [Halwe.] }
 Halhgen, dat. pl.
 Sorhze }
 Sorze }
 Sorhe }
 Seorwa }
 To-flogén, p.p.
 To-draegen.
 Pleowe } 'game, play.'
 Ploze }
 Luzen, vb., 'tell lies.'
 Dawede.
 Dazede.
 [Dawes.]
 Dæwen, Dawen } sb. pl.
 [Dawe, Dawes, Dages] }
 Dahgen }
 Daze } sing. dat.
 Dawe }
 Buruwe [borwe, borhwe].
 Loh, adj., 'low.'

Songs and C.'s, Warw., 1400.

Morwe } 31.
 Sorwe }
 Slawyn, 66.

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Drageð, 311.
 Lage, sb., 784.

Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.

Felas, 'fellows,' 30.
 þei awe, 39.
 Lawes, 52 and passim.
 Morwe speche, 55.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Bowe of tre.
 Bowe, 'arcus.'
 Fowle, 'bird.'
 Lawe, 'jus,' etc.
 Herberwyn.
 Sorow.
 Swelwhe of a water or of a grownde.
 Cowhyn, H. }
 Cowghen } vb.
 Cowyn, K. }
 Coghe, sb.
 Lawhyn, 'rideo.'
 Throwhe, 'through.'

Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.

Lawhe, inf., St. Cecilia, 821.
 Sawe, St. Elizabeth, 987.
 Drawe, 211 } St. Agnes.
 Lawe, 212 }
 Morwe, St. Dorothy, 106.
 porch, 20, 11,000 Virg.
 porgh, 183, St. Magdalene.

In this text we have such spellings
 as—Malyhs, 215.

Nyhs, 206 } St. Agnes.
 Wyhs, 205 }
 = 'malys,' 'nys,' 'wys,' etc., and
 these spellings occur constantly
 throughout the text, showing that
h had no consonantal sound in this
 position.

Wycliffe.

Halwen, sb. pl., X.

O.E. -*z* = *w* in *Chaucer*.

Sorwe.
 Mowen, vb.
 Mawe, 'stomach.'
 Lowe, adj.
 Sawe, 'saying, speech.'
 Fawe, 'fain, glad.'
 Rowe, vb.
 Dawe, vb.
 Dawes, 'days.'
 Dawing, 'dawning.'
 Dewe.
 Drawe, vb.
 Adawe, vb.
 Awe, sb.
 Awen, 'own.'
 Fowel }
 Foul, Foules } 'bird.'
 Fowl }
 Hawe, 'yard.'
 Hawe (fruit of rose).
 Horowe, 'foul, scandalous,' O.E.
 horiz (?).
 Halwen, vb.
 Halwes, sb.
 Herberowe } sb.
 Herberow }
 Herberwe, vb.
 Sowe, 'a sow.'

O.E. -*z*, -*h* = *gh* in *Chaucer*.

Rogh }
 Rough } adj.
 Slough.

Swogh }
 Swough } 'low noise.'
 Swow }
 Thogh. }
 Towh }
 Tough } 'though.'
 Tow }
 Thorgh }
 Thurgh }
 Trogh }
 Trough }
 Choogh. }
 Cough. }
 Flough, 'didst fly.' }
 Bough. }
 Drough, vb. }
 Slough } pt. of 'sleen.'
 Slowh }
 Saugh } vb.
 Saw }

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Burh, 'city.'
 Lahe, 'law.'
 Plahen, 'they play.'
 Sorh, 'sorrow.'

R. of Glos., 1300.

Azte, 3 sing.
 Dawe, pl.
 Drawe, p.p.
 Drawep, 2 pl.
 Drouz, 'drew.'
 Fawe, 'pain.'
 Halwe } vb.
 Halwy }
 Halwe, adj.
 Hawe, 'had.'
 Kouhe, 'cough.'
 Lewz }
 Louz } 'laughed.'
 Lowe }
 Mawe, 'stomach.'
 Owe, vb.
 Rowe, 'rough.'
 Slawe } p.p.
 Slaze }
 Sorwe, sb.
 Wawes, 'waves.'
 Tou, 'tough.'
 Thof, 'though.'

St. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

Foweles, 226.
 ze Mowe, 183.
 of Dawe, 193.
 Marw, 146.

But fronted in *Maide*, 27.

O.E. *-ht* = *ȝt*.

poȝt, 31.
niȝt, 21.
diȝte, vb., 22.

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Bergh } 'hill.'
Berwe }
Borghe, b.
Borw.
Felawe.
Laugen
Lauhen }
Laughwhen } 'laugh.'
Laughhe, b }
Lawghe, b }
Lowe } 2 pt. sing., 'didst tell lies.'
Lowen } p.p.
Lowe, 'flame.'
Louh }
Low } 'meek,' etc.
Plouh.
Plow, b.
Plough, b.
Plouȝ, a.
Sorwe.
Morwe.
Swowe, vb., 'faint.'
O.E. swozan.
Thauh.
Pauȝ.

Sir Fer., Devon., 1380.

Awe, 'respect, worship.'
Galwetre.
For-gnaze, 'devour.'
Folȝhede.
Fawe (and Fayn), 'pleased, happy.'
Herburȝes, 'resting-place, camp.'
Sawe, 'tale, account.'
Forw, 'furrow.'

St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.

Sorwe, 3216.
Slawe, p.p., 320.

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

Selhȝe, 'happiness,' 10.
Heh, hehest, 8.
Seh, 'saw,' 16.
Drehe, 'I suffer,' 16.
Fehere, 'fairer,' 18.
of Dahene, 30.
Isahet, p.p., 'sawn,' 38.
Droh, perf., 4.
Duheȝe, sb., 4.

Felahas, 'fellows,' 4.
Ahne, 'own,' 10.
Fuheles, 12.
Nowȝer, 'neither,' 14.
Ye ne mahe, 'may not,' 16.
Lahen, 'customs, laws,' 22.
Burh, 4.
purh, 6.

Ancr. Riv., Dorset, 1225.

Ageliche, 'awfully.'
Bouh }
Bowe } 'bough.'
Coue, 'chough.'
Dawes, 'days.'
Haher }
Hager } 'clever.'
Inouh.
Sage }
Sawe } 'a saying.'
Sahe.

O. and N., Dorset, 1240-50.

Sorȝe, J. }
Sorewe, C. }
Fuheles, C. }
Foweles, J. }
Laze ('law,' 103).
Hazel, C. }
Hawel, J. } 10,002.
Hahe, Cot. }
Hawe, J. } 1,612.
Moregenning, Cot. }
Morewening, J. } 1,718.

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants, 1327.

Dawe, 'to dawn,' A.
Fawe, 'glad,' A.

Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.

O.E. *ȝ* (back) = *ȝ*.

Eagen, J., ix, 11, passim.
Eage, Joh., x, 34 (dat. sing.).
he ȝeseahȝe, Mk., v, 32.
ȝeseagen, Mk., vi, 49.
on Dizlen, Mat., vi, 4.
Twigan, J., xv, 5.
Twiz, J., xv, 6.
Twizgan, Joh., xii, 13.

Examples of misuse of *g* and *ȝ* in
Kentish Gospels.

g for *ȝ*.

Halgen, Mat., iii, 11.
slog, Mk., xiv, 47.

z for g and z̄ for gg.

zast, Mat., iii, 11; Joh., iv, 24.
Gang (imperat.), Mat., viii, 9.
Sezge, Joh., ii, 5.
Finger, Joh., xx, 27.
Pinzen, Mat., v, 32.

Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.

Eagen, 'eyes,' 223.
Oge, 'own,' 235.
Azen, 241.
zesawen, 242.

Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.

i-Slze, p.p., 5, 22.
laze, sb., 99, 13.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent, Early Thirteenth Century.

Draghan, 47, 49.
Ezhte, 'property,' 55.
Eagen, 'eyes,' 379.
Fogeles, 83.
Laze, 'law.'
Muzte, 15.
Ozhte, 2.
Rezh, 135 = (Rekþ?).
Pezh, 4.

Kentish Sermons (Laud, 471), 1200-50.

We mowe, Epiph.
Legheþ, 'lies,' Fifth Sermon, 5.
Daghen, dat. pl., Fifth Sermon, 5.
I-seghe, 'seen,' Fourth Sermon.
Moreghen, Fifth Sermon.
Laghe, acc.; Epiph.
Ozhe, 'own,' adj., Second Sermon.

Lib. Desc., 1350, Kent.

Lawe, 216.
Awzt, 298.
Owene, 441.
Drouze, 'drew,' 1499.
Dwerz, 'dwarf,' 119.
porwz, 291.

Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.

Lawe, 62.
To slaze, 66 (rhymes with lawe).
Y-faze, 67 (rhymes with lawe).
Drazeþ (sing.), 68.
Y-naze, 68 (rhymes with lawe).
Prof, 'through.'
Ozen, 62.
paž, 'though,' 102.
Holwye, 3.

Azenbite, Kent, 1340.

Adraze, vb., p.p.
Alpaž, 'although.'
Azt, 'ought.'
Beaz, 'he bowed.'
Bozsam, adj.
Boz, 'bough.'
Brozte, 'brought.'
Bouze, 'to obey.'
Doz, 'dough.'
Draf, 'dregs.'
Drag, 'to draw.'
Laze, 'law.'
Loz, 'low.'
Mawe, 'to mow.'
Moze, 'may.'
Oze, 'own' (adj.).
Slaze, 'to slay.'
Uozel, 'bird.'
Ynoze, 'enough.'

VIII.

Non-initial O.E. z̄ and h fronted in M.E.

Barbour.

Bery, vb., 'bury.'
By, 'to buy.'
Dre } vb., 'endure.'
Drez }
E } 'eye.'
Ey }
Eyn, 'eyes.'

Fe, 'cattle.'
Fle, 'to flee.'
Forly, 'to violate.'
Herzit, 'harried.'
Herberz, 'lodging.'
He }
Hey } adj.
Sle, 'sly.'
Liand, 'lying.'

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Dre, 'to suffer.'
 Eine, 'eyes.'
 Ley, 'a lea.'

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Day.
 Ee } 'eye.'
 Een } pl.
 Hie, adj.
 Ly
 Lyis } vb.
 Lyand }
 Herberye, 'harbour.'

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Eghen, 33. 16.
 Filigh, imperat., 'follow,' 33. 15.
 For-segh, p.p., 21. 25.
 Negh, adj., 39. 13.
 Neghburgh, 14. 3.
 Slighen, 3 pl., 21. 30.
 Stihs, sb. pl., 118. 105.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Ei
 Eie, pl. }
 Einen } 'eye.'
 Eigen }
 Een }
 Hei }
 Leis, sb., 'lies.'
 Lei, vb.
 Lies, 2 sing.
 Lighes.
 Liges.

Minot., Yorks., 1333-52.

Lye, 'falsehood.'
 Mai.
 Main.

Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1480.

Wey = O.E. wiga, 'a man.'

Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1849.

Bigging, 'redemption.'
 Deghe } 'to die.'
 Deygh, etc. }
 Dreghe } 'to suffer.'
 Drighe }
 Eghe, 'eye.'
 Eghteld, 'to endeavour.'
 Flegh, 'to flee.'
 Flegh }
 Flogh } pret.

Heyghe.
 Heyghest } adj.
 Heghe }
 Highen, vb.
 Neghe, adj.
 Sleghe } 'wise.'
 Slyghe }
 Stey, vb., 'ascend.'
 Stegh, 'ladder.'

Sir Gaw., North., 1366.

Berz, 'hill.'
 Deze, vb.
 Dryzten, 'lord.'
 May, 'maid.'
 Seghe, 'saw.'
 Syz } 'saw.'
 Syze }
 Yze, 'eye.'

Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth Century.

Daias }
 Dayes }
 Dais }
 Ege, sing }
 Eghen } pl. } 'eye.'
 Eeyn }
 Dreze, vb., 'dree.'
 Ege }
 and Egen } 'fear.'
 Fey, 'fated and die.'

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Flee, 'a fly.'
 Eye.
 to Dree.
 to Flee.
 to See.
 Haifare, 'heifer.'

Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.

Adrez, 'aback, aside,' =?
 Hyge, 'to lie.'
 Dryz, adj.
 May, 'maid.'

Metr. Rom., Lancs., 1420.

Hezer, 'higher.'
 Se } 'saw.'
 Seghe }

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Bilegzd.
 Frizgenn, 'calumniate.'

Fraggnen, 'ask.'
 Forrlegenn, 'guilty of adultery.'
 Fleggl.
 Faggrer, 'fair.'
 Faygre, adv.
 Fezest, 'joinest.'
 Innsegless, 'seals.'
 Egglenn, 'all.'
 Eggperr, 'either.'
 Eggwhær, 'everywhere.'
 Ezze, 'fear.'
 Twiggessa, 'twice.'
 Tweggenn, 'twain.'
 Þezgre } 'their.'
 Tezgre }
 Sigz, 'victory.'
 Þriggess, 'thrice.'
 Driggz.
 Æddmodleggz.
 Rezzn, 'rain.'
 Nægglenn, 'to nail.'
 Waggneþþ.
 Waggz, 'waggon.'
 Waggz, 'woe.'
 Daggz, 'day.'
 Maggz, 'maid.'
 Maggz, 'may.'

Note spelling, rezzsenn, 'to raise'
 (= O. Icel. reisa?). This seems to
 prove that zg in above words = σ
 or f, which would imply diphthongi-
 zation of the a. agz = \int f.

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Eie }
 Eyen } 'eye.'
 Eyn }
 Eyne }
 Ageyn, 'against.'
 Fleye, 'to fly.'

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Hey, 'hay.'
 Reyn, 'rain.'
 Eyen, 'eyes.'
 Eye, 'awe.'
 Mayden.
 Abreyde, p.p.
 Weye.
 Sties, 'by-roads.'
 Lye, 'deceit.'
 Ly, inf., 'to lie down.'
 Fleyes, sb.
 Dreye, vb., 'dree.'
 Dreigh, adv.

Ferlig, adv.
 Fee, 'cattle,' etc.
 Ney, 'near.'
 Fleye, 'flew.'
 Feightit, perf.
 Fleyghe, 'fled.'
 Sleigþe, 'cunning.'

Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.

Ai, 'eye.'
 Aie, 'awe.'
 Daies.
 Fain } 'glad.'
 Fayn }
 Deie, vb., 'die.'
 Flye (Alis), adj.
 Hige, 'hasten.'
 Drie, 'to dree.'
 Heie
 Heiz }
 Heizh } 'high.'
 Heye }
 Hize }
 Heizing, 'hurrying.'
 Neigh } 'nearly.'
 Nezh }
 Seie, 'to say.'
 Seye.
 Seyde.
 Seip.
 Sle, 'to slay.'
 peih, 'though.'
 Pei.
 Weih, 'a balance.'
 Weiz, 'man.'

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

hit Beie, vb. subj., 'bend.'
 Seið, 21.
 Feire, adj., 29.

Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Ezen, 'eyes,' 90. 8.
 Egeliddes, 10. 5.
 Seide, 15. 1.
 Nezbur, 23. 4.
 Seize, 36. 37.
 to Sle, 36. 34.

Mirc., Salop, 1400.

Sty, 'a path.'
 Sle, 'to slay.'
 Sleen, 'slain.'
 Buri, 'burgh, castle.'
 Haly, adj.
 Hez, 'high.'

MS. Harl., 2253. Heref., 1310.

Brege, 'brow.'
 Buyþ, 3 sing. pres., 'buys.'
 Eges.
 Ezenen, dat. pl.
 Fe, 'money.'
 Fleze, dat. sing., 'a fly.'
 Heye
 and (Hawe) } 'high.'
 Lip } 'lies.'
 Ligs }

Lazamon, Worcs., 1205.

Sing.: Dæi, 'dai' ['day']. Dæies,
 daiges, 'daies, dæzes [daizes], dæie,
 dæigen, dæze, dæie, 'daize, deie
 [dai].

Pl.: Dæies, dæizes, dæzes, 'daizes.

Gen.: Dægen [daigene], daize,
 daiges, dazes.

Dægen, vb., daigen.
 Deigen, degen [deie, deize], 'to die.'
 Dizelen, 'secretly.'
 Ege, 'eye.'
 Feie, 'fated to die.'
 Fæin, 'fain, glad.'
 Lize [leze].
 Mæi, mai, mæie [mai].
 Plæze, pleize [pleaz, pleoi].
 'Tweie, 'tweize.
 Tweine, tweige [twei, tweye].
 Æh-senen, 'eyesight.'
 Æie, eie, eize, eze [eaze, eye], awe.
 'Sæi, sæize, saie, imperat., 'say.'
 Læi, 'lai, pret., of liggen.
 'Læide, 'laid.'
 Laih }
 Ley } adj.
 Pæh }
 Paih } 'thought.'
 Peh }
 'Hehte
 Heihte } 'was called.'
 Haihte }
 Feiht }
 'Feht } 'fight.'

Bestiary, E. Midl., 1250.

Daies }
 Dages } nom. pl., 744.
 Egen, passim.
 Flegeð, 707.
 Hege, 'high,' 685.
 Leigeð, 'lays,' 359.

Maig, 516 } 3rd sing.
 Mai, 522 }
 Meiden, 37.
 Seide, 261.

Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.

Seze, vb., 'saw,' St. Agatha, 144?
 Eyne, St. Mary, 456.
 Eyghte, St. Mary, 935.
 Yhe, St. Agatha, 345 (rhymes to
 aspye, seye, leye).

Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.

Leefully, 51.
 Heye, adj., 39.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Eye, 'oculus.'
 Neyhbore.
 Neyborede.

Wycliffe.

Eien, X. }
 Eigen, X. } 'eyes.'
 Yze, LL.
 Leie, 'tell lies' }
 Leip } X.
 Leizede }
 Byze, vb., CC.

Chaucer.

Lye, vb., 'to lie (down).'
 Lye, 'a lie,' also vb.
 Mayden.
 Playen.
 Pleyen, 'to ply.'
 Reye ('rye').
 Reyn.
 Sty, 'to mount.'
 Styward.
 Tweyne.
 Tweye.
 Wey.
 Abeye, vb., 'pay for.'
 A-breyde, 'to make.'
 Alwey.
 Bi seye, p.p.
 Dayes.
 Dayeseye.
 Deyen.
 Drye, 'to endure.'
 Drye, adj.
 Eye, pl. eyen, 'eyes.'
 Fair, adj.
 Fayn, 'glad.'
 Flye, 'a fly.'

Frye, vb.
 Hye, vb., 'to hasten.'
 Leyt, 'flame.'
 Saye, 'to say.'
 Neigh, adv. (also negh).
 Eighte.
 Heigh, 'high.'
 Heighte, sb.
 Sey, pl. seyen, 'time.'
 Hy, adj., 'high.'

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Hevien, vb., 'glorify.'
 Ehe, 'eye.'
 Ehnen, pl.

R. of Glos., 1300.

Leighze, 'flame.'
 lighze, 'to laugh' ?
 Flizen, 'flies.'
 Eyzte, 'eighth.'
 Eye } 'awe.'
 Eyghe }
 Eye, pl. sb., 'eyes.'

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Beiz, ornament for neck.
 Eye, 'awe.'
 Eyen }
 Eyghen } adj.
 Eyne }
 Eze.
 Fey, adj.
 Heyz }
 Heigh } adj.
 Hi }
 Leighze, 2 pret. 'didst lie' ('mentire').
 Leye, 'a flame.'
 Lie } 'mentire.'
 Lizen }
 Teizen, vb., 'tie.'
 Wrye, vb., 'turn.'
 Leyn, p.
 Seih.
 Seigh, 1 pt. sing., 'saw.'
 Seie, p.p.
 Leip, pres. sing., 'to lay.'
 Leid, p.p.
 Syghede, 'he sighed.'

Sir Fer., Devon., 1380.

Aye, 'awe.'
 Ayper.
 Ezene, 'eyes.'
 Feye, 'accused, cowardly.'
 May, 'maid.'

Lye, 'flame.'
 Negene, 9.
 Folgyeap, pres. pl.
 Syzing, 'sighing,' sb.

St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.

hi per lege, 3,385.
 y-seyze, 'seen,' 3,635.
 Seyze, 'he saw,' 3,846 and 460.
 Eyze, 'eye,' 4,297.
 Eyther, 713.
 Heygede, 1278.
 Seyen, 3 pl. vb., 'saw,' 1,423.
 Twey, 'two,' 2,337.

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

Meiden, 2 pres.
 Deis, gen., 6.
 Meari, 'marrow,' 20.

Ancr. Riw., Dorset, 1225.

Hei } 'high.'
 Heih }
 Heilte, 8.
 Leie, 'flame.'
 Rein, 'rain.'
 Lizen, 'to lie.'
 Wergeð, 'wearieth.'
 Wizeles, 'wiles.'
 Yleshipes, 'hedgehogs' skins.'

O. and N., Dorset, 1240-50.

Eyen, J. } 'yes.'
 Ezen, Cott. }
 Plei, 213, vb. inf.
 Weie, 214, sb.

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants, 1327.

Untize, vb., A.
 Eize, 'fear,' S. A.

Kentish Gospels (MS. Hatton, 38), 1150.

Dæzes, Mat., xx, 2.
 Felze (imperat.), Mat., ix, 9.
 Aighwile, Mat., vi, 34.
 Mayz, Mat., vi, 24.
 Dayghwamlicc, Mat., vi, 11.
 Onfezð } Mk., ix, 37.
 Onfehð }
 Eize, 'fear,' Mk., ix, 6.
 Forleigre, Mk., vii, 21.
 Meigdene (dat.), Mk., vii, 22.
 Saizde, Mk., iv, 21.
 Manize, Joh., xxi, 6.
 Eyzze, 'fear,' Joh., xx, 19.
 pu azeit, Mat., v, 33.

Vespas, A. 22, Kent, 1200.
zeie, 'fear,' 225.

Vices and Virtues, Kent, 1200.

Eige, 'fear,' 19. 29.
Eizene, 'eyes,' 51. 2.
Fleih, 'flew,' 137. 12.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent. Early Thirteenth Century.

Aihwer, 'anywhere,' 88.
Bolzeð, 14.
Eige = 'awe,' 281 (rhymes with leie).
Liezgen (rhymes with driezen).
Leid, p. p., 12.
Sorge, 146 } Is \bar{z} in these words back
peze, 61 } or front?

Will. of Shoreham, Kent, 1307-27.
Eyzen, 'eyes,' 5.

Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.

\bar{z} -warged, 'farrowed.'
Wrage, 'to betray.'
Slee and slea, 'to slay.'
Plezes, 'sports.'

On-riht, 'wrong.'
Nezebores, 'nezzebores.'
Nayle.
Mayden.
Lygere, 'liar.'
Lizte, sb.
Leze } 'to laugh,' also lheeze.
Lezze }
Layde, 'laid.'
Layt, 'light.'
Halgede, 'he hallowed.'
Eyzte, 8.
Ege, ezen, 'eye, eyes.'
Eyren, 'eggs.'
Eyder, 'either.'
Dales.
Zuoli = O.E. sulh.
Briht.
Bourze } 'to save.'
Berze }
Bodi and bodye.
Bayð, 'buys.'
Heze, 'high.'
Uly, 'to fly.'

Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.

izen, 'eyes,' 943.
Egge, 'fear,' 2,026.
Streizt, 942.

IX.

Non-initial O.E. -c̄g = -gg (front stop, etc.) in M E.

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Eige, 'ridge of a hill, edge.'
(ge here = dz?)

Sir Gaw., 1366, North.

Edge, 'edge.'
Hegges, 'hedges.'
Rygge, 'back.'

W.-W., xviii, North., Early Fifteenth Century.

Segge, 'carex.'
Egge (of knife).
Wegge, 'cuneus.'
? Bryg = dz?

Wars of Alexander, Yorks, Late Fifteenth Century.

Eging } 'inciting' (front or back?).
Eggyng }
Eggis } 'hedges.'
Hegges }
Egge, 'edge.'

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Bridge.
Midge.
Ridge.

Allit. P., Lancs., 1360.

Segg } 'man.'
 Segge }
 Brugge, 'bridge.'
 Dungen, 'to beat.'
 Egge, 'edge,' sb.
 Eggynge, 'instigation.'
 Lygge, 'to lie.'

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Abiggenn, 'pay for.'
 Biggen, 'bury.'
 Egge, 'edge.'
 Leggenn, 'lay,' læȝesst, læȝeþþ.
 Seggenn, 'say, tell.'

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Brigge.
 Rig.

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Brygges.
 Brugges.
 Egge, 'edge,' sb.
 Sedgeing, 'saying.'

(Note early use of -dge.)

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

to Seggen, 3.
 Buggen, 9.
 Eggeð, 3.

Notice Rug, 'back,' 17.

Will. of Pat., W. Midl., 1350.

Biggen.
 Brug. (g here perhaps = c.)
 Brugge.
 Egged, p.p., 'incited.'
 Egge-tol.
 Ligge, vb., 'lie, dwell.'
 Rigge, 'back.'
 Segging, 'saying' (A).
 Swinge, 'they strike.'
 Seg
 Segges, pl. } 'a man.'

Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Ozain siggeing, 30. 26.
 Bigge, 43. 28.
 Rygge, 49. 18.

MS. Harl., 2253. Heref., 1310.

Aleggen, 'to overthrow.'
 Brygge.
 Bugging.
 Leggen, 'to lay.'
 Liggen, 'to lie.'
 Tubrugge, 'a drawbridge.'
 Rug, 'back.'

Worce., Glos., Twelfth Century.

Seg, 'carex.'
 Weeg.

Laz., Worcs., 1205.

Abiggen, 'buy.'
 Brugge, 'bridge.'
 Bugge (Bigge).
 Legge, 'to lay.'
 Liggen, 'to lie down.'
 Seggen.
 Siggen.
 (ich) Sugge.
 Egge, 'edge.'
 Rug
 (Rugge) } 'back.'
 Rigge, dat.
 Sæg, seg, 'man.'

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Lyggynge, sb.
 Rygge, 'bone.'
 Segge, 'sedge.'
 Brygge, 'pons.'
 Vegge } 'cuneus.'
 Wegge }
 Wedge, vb., 'cleave wood' (the
 spelling shows pronunciation of
 other forms).
 Eggyn, or entycyn.
 Egge, 'acies.'
 Flygge asbryddys.
 Hedge, sb.
 Hedgyn, vb., 'to make a h.'
 Keygge (or ioly), cf. Suffolk 'kedge.'

Wills and Inv.

Hegges, Rookewode, 1479.
 Coksedge
 Coksedgys } 1407.
 Coksegys }

Wycliffe.

Biggen, X.
 (Byze, CC.).
 ? Weeg, X.

Chaucer.

Abegge, 'pay for.'
 Brigge, sb.
 Drugge.
 Egging, sb.
 Egge, vb., 'incite.'
 Egge, sb.
 Hegge, sb.
 Lege } 'to lay.'
 Leggen }
 Liggen, 'to lie.'
 Siggen, vb.
 Senge, 'to singe.'
 Wegge, sb.

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Egge, 'edge.'
 Leggen, 'to lay.'

R. of Glos., 1300.

Brugge }
 Bregges } sb.
 Brygge }
 Eggeu, p.p. (adj.).
 Hegges, 'hedges.'
 Legge, 'to lay.'
 Lyggen, 'to lie.'
 Rygge, 'back.'
 Segge, 'to say.'

S. Jul. (Metrical), Glos., 1300.

Legge, vb., 41.
 Seggeþ ʒe } 136.
 Segge }
 Ligge, 209.
 Rug, 'back,' 56.

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Brigge.
 Brygge.
 Bigge, vb.
 Biggere, 'a buyer.'
 Bugge, B.
 Buggers, A.
 Leggen.
 Liggen.
 Rigge.
 Rygge (and Ryg).
 Segge (and Seg).

St. Jul. (Prose), Dorset, 1200.

Eggin, inf., 44.
 Seggen, inf., 8.

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Briggeward.
 Dyngen, 'dash, hound.'
 Rigges.
 Slegge, 'sledhammer.'
 Egged, 'edged.'
 Ligge, 'lie.'
 Pynge, 'to tingle.'
 Rigge (and Rig).
 Sigge, 'say, tell.'

St. Editha, Wills., 1400.

Lyge, inf., 3,155.
 Leygyng, 3,629.
 Leyge, inf., 452.
 Lyging, 2,474.

Ancr. Riwl., Dorset, 1225.

Kuggel, 'cudgel.'
 Bugging, 'buying.'
 Eggen, 'edge on.'
 Leggen, 'to lay.'
 Liggen, 'lie down.'
 Wiðseggen, 'gainsay.'

Sir B. of Hampt., South Hants, 1327.

Rigge-bone, Manchester MS., Fifteenth Century.

Moral Ode (Digby MS.), Kent. Early Thirteenth Century.

Beggen, inf., 65.
 Siggeþ, 114.

Ayenbite, Kent, 1340.

Besenge, 'to singe.'
 Begginge, 'to buy.'
 Beggeþ, 'buyeth.'
 Legge, 'to lay.'
 Ligge, 'to lie.'
 Ziggen, 'to say.'
 Reg, 'back.'
 Heg, 'hedge.'

Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.

Regge, 1,018.
 Brigge, 1,330.
 Legge, 'to lay,' 1331.
 Ligge, 'to lie,' 1635.

X.

Non-initial *g* and *cg* = back stop in M.E.

Barbour.

Byg, vb.
Biggit, 'built.'
Brig }
Bryg }
Briggit, 'bridged.'
Egging, 'urging.'
Ryg, 'ridge.'
Tyg, 'to touch lightly.'

Dunbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Brigge.
Dreg, 'to dredge.'
Lig, 'to lie.'
Rigbane.

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Big, 'build.'
Brig.
Drug, vb.
Eg, sb.
Leye rig.
Scroggis, 'low stunted bushes.'

Gav. Douglas, 1475-1522.

Buge, 'a bow' (*g* here must be a stop;
it is never used to express an open
consonant in this text).
Eggis, 'incites.'
Rigbone.
Ryg, 'back.'
Thig, 'to beg' (O.E. *piczean*).

Metrical Psalter, Yorks., before 1300.

Fen of Dreg (*fecis*), 39. 3.
Ligging, 'lying down,' 6. 7.
Ligging-sted, 35. 5 (MS. Egerton).
Thiggand, 'begging,' 39. 18.
T'wigges, 79. 11.

Cursor Mundi, Yorks., 1300.

Brig.
Ligus } 3rd sing.
Liggus }
Ligand }
Liggand }
Likand }

Minot, Yorks., 1332-52.

Brig.
Lig, 'lie, remain.'
Rig, 'back.'

Prk. of Consc., Yorks., before 1347.

Big, 'to build.'
Byggyn, sb.
Egg, vb., 'incite.'
Ligg }
Ligge } vb., 'lie.'
lyg }
Lygyn, 'lain.'
Lyggys, 'lies.'

Townley Mysteries, Yorks., 1450.

Lig, 'to lie down,' but *lyys*, 3rd sing.,
also occurs, line 104.

*Wars of Alex., Yorks., Late Fifteenth
Century.*

Brig }
Brigg } 'bridge.'
Egg, sb.
Grig (Dub.) }
Grege } 'cricket, grig.'
Lig } Dub.
Ligg }
? Ligge } Ashm.
Claggid, p.p., 'sticky.'

Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.

Myge, 'culex.'
to Lyg(e), 'under, succumber.'
to Beg.
to Byge, 'fundare, condere.'
to Bygge, 'again, re-edificare.'
a Bryge, 'pons.'
a Drag, 'arpax.'
an Hogge.
an Ege }
Egge, A. } 'acies.'
an Eg }
Egge, A. } 'ovum.'
Fige tre.
Hagworne, 'a viper.'
to Lygg, 'accumbere.'
to Lyg in wayte, 'insidiare.'
a Pegg, 'carex.'
to Fage }
} 'adulari,'
} 'palpare.'
a Fagyng, 'blandicia.'
(See note in Promptorium.)
on 'Fagyru, or flateryn, adular.'

P. 146.

O.E. *fagenian*.

Prompt., *faunin*, 'blandio,' Langl.,
B. xv, 296; has *fauhnede*.

Levins, Yorks., 1570.

Brig	}	All these		
Rigge of land			}	rhyme.
Rig of a house				
Smig, 'anguillæ genus'				
Whig (and Whay)				
pigge	}	Rhymes.		
Egge, 'ovum.'				
Clegge, 'solipunga'				
the Dregges				
to egge, 'irritare'				

R. of Brunne, Lincs., 1338.

Bigged, 'built.'
Heg, 'hedge.'
Ligges, 'lies,' vb.
I lyg, 'I lie down.'
Megge, 'kinsfolk.'

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Arwygyl	}	cf. Erriwiggle, Forby,
		Norf.; Arrawiggle, Moore, Suffolk.
Byggyn, or byldyn.		
Thyggyn, 'mendico.'		
Frogge	}	'tode.'
Egge and Ey.		

Chaucer.

Bagge, sb.
Begge, vb.
Dogge, sb.
Diggen, vb.
Dagged, adj.
Frogge.
Roggeth, vb.
Ruggy, adj.
Wagges, vb.

P. Plowm., Glos., 1362-93.

Bigge, vb., 'build.'
Begge, 'to beg.'
Egges, sb. pl.
Ryg, 'back.'
Seg (and Segge), 'creature, man.'

XI.

O.E. *ht* in M.E.*Barbour.*

Aucht, 'they possessed.'
Aucht, 'eight.'
Bataucht, 'handed over.'
Brichtly.
Douchty.
Dochtrys, 'daughters.'
Ficht } vb.
Fecht }
Flicht, 'flight.'
Hicht } 'height.'
Heycht }

Dumbar, E. Lothian, 1460-1520.

Bricht.
Flocht } 'flight.'
Flicht }
Slawchter.
Wicht, 'strong.'

Compl. of Scotl., 1549.

Brycht, adj.
Eycht, 'eight, eighth.'
Dochtir.
Foucht, pret.
Hight, 'height.'
Laucht, 'laughed.'
Maucht } 'might.'
Mycht }
Rycht.
Thocht.
Vrocht.

Minot, Yorks., 1333-52.

Doghty, etc.

Prk. of Conso., Yorks., before 1349.

Aght, pret.
Aghtend, 'eighth.'

Dight, 'decked.'
 Drighten, 'lord.'
 Heght, sb.
 Sleght, 'wisdom.'
 Slaghter.
 Soght, p.p.
 Bytaght, p.p.
 Pought.

Wars of Alex., Yorks., late Fifteenth Century.

Feght, sb., etc., etc.

Catholicon, Yorks., 1483.

a Thoghte.
 Tawght, 'doctus.'
 a Sleght, 'lamina.'
 a Slaghter, 'cedes.'
 a Nighte, 'nox.'
 Lyghte, sb.
 an Heghte, 'apex,' etc.
 Gulsohte, 'aurugo' (note).
 Fraghte of a schippe.
 a Flyghte } of snawe (note).
 Flaghte }
 a Flaghte de terra.
 a Draghte, 'haustus.'
 Aghte, 'octo.'
 Wryghte.

Havelok, N.E. Midl., 1300.

Knieth }
 Knith }
 Knictes }
 Kniht }
 Licth } sb.
 Liht }
 Plith, 'haven.'
 Rith, sb.
 Auchte } 'possessions.'
 Aucte }
 Authe }
 Broucte, 'brought.'
 Douhter.
 Douther.
 Doutres, pl.

Orm., Lincs., 1200.

Awihht, 'aught.'
 Brihhte, adj.
 Ehhhte, 'eight.'
 Hihht.
 Lihht.
 Wrihht, 'make.'

Brohhte.
 Forr-rahht, 'prevented.'
 Duhhtig.
 Fulluhht.
 Nahht.
 Wehhte, 'weight.'
 Mahht, 'might.'
 Uhhtenn, 'early morning.'

R. of Brunns, Lincs., 1338.

Lyght, sb.
 Laught, perf. of lacche, 'to catch.'
 Aught, vb. perf.
 Faught, perf.

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225.

Nawt, 'nought,' 9.

Will. of Pal., W. Midl., 1350.

Brit, 'bright.'
 Ligtere, 'lighter.'
 Rit.
 Rigt.
 Sougt, p.p.
 Dougti.
 Dougter.

Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps., W. Midl., 1375.

Rygtful, 91. 15.
 Brogtest, 87. 7.

Miro., Salop, 1400.

Drygt.
 Drygte, 'dispose.'
 Fygte, 'fight.'
 Plygte, 'plight.'
 Rygt.
 Sygt, 'sight.'

Laz., Wores., 1205.

·Briht.
 Faht.
 ·Dohter.
 Douter.
 Dogter.
 Dochter (dohter).
 ·Cniht (cniht).
 Æhte (eahhte).
 Bohte, part. of 'biggen.'
 Fætte and fæhte, from 'fæchen.'
 Quehte, from 'quecchen.'

Songs and C.'s, Warw., 1400.

Dowter.
Nyte, 'night.'
Bryte, 'bright.'

Genesis and Exodus, Suffolk, 1250.

Bright, 'bright.'
Broete, 'brought,' pret.
Bogte, 'bought,' pret.
Fogt, 'fought.'

Bestiary, W. Midl., 1250.

Bright, 70.
Drigten, 40.
Fligt, 69.
Nigt, 63.

This text writes *g* for back and front, open, and stop consonants.

Engl. Guilds, Norf., 1389.

Lyght.
Noght, also nowt passim.

Prompt., Norf., 1440.

Bryghte, 'clarus.'
Lyght.
Myth.
Mighty.
Nyghte.
Nyth (H.).

Bokenham, Suffolk, before 1447.

Hycht, St. Dorothy, 10.
Doughtir, 11,000 Virgins, 104.
Dowtrys, St. Dorothy, 23.
Mychty } passim.
Mythy }
Dowghter, St. Anne, 375.

Chaucer.

Straughte, p.pl.
Straught, p.p. and pr. sing. (N.B.)
Streighte, p. pl.)
Taughte, pret.
Raughte, pret.
Thoght.
Soghte.
Noht } adv.
Nought }
Aboghte, p.p. of abye.
Doghter.
Doughty.
Doghty.

Droughte } 'thirst.'
Droghte }
Bright.
Plighte, vb.
Night.
Right.
Wight.
Wight, adj. 'active.'
Fighten.

St. Kath., Glos., 1200.

Fehten, vb.
Puhte, 'seemed.'
Pohte, 'thought.'
Bisohte.

P. Plowm., 1362-93.

Bright, adj.
Hougt, 'ought, anything.'
Rygt.
Rigt.
Wroughten, p.p.
Wroghte, pret.
pougte, pret.

Sir Fer., Devon, 1380.

Dogty.
Folloht.
Follogt.

St. Editha, Wilts., 1400.

Almygty, 1.
Knygt } passim.
Rygt }
Myght, 530.
powgt, 1738.

N.B.—Spelling owgt = 'out,' 1670, 1676, shows that the *z* cannot have been pronounced.

St. Jul. (Prose) Dorset, 1200.

Unduhti, 'unworthy,' 4.
Mahte, sb., 12.
Brihtre, comp., 18.

Ancr. Riwele, Dorset, 1225.

Lachte } 'caught.'
Lahte }
Riht, 'judgement.'

Vesp. A., 22, Kent, 1200.

Richtwisen, 217.
Almihtig.
Dochtren, pl., 225.
Michte, 229.
Echte, 'possessions,' 233.

Kentish Sermons (MS. Laud, 471),
1200-50.

manslechte, 2nd Serm.
licht, Epiph.
bricht, Epiph.

Lib. Desc., Kent, 1350.

Knigt.
Sozt.
Wigt.
Sigt, etc., etc.
unsawgt.

MODERN DIALECT WORD-LISTS.

I.

Non-initial *k* in the Modern Dialects.

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.

Bike, 'bees' nest.'
Blake, 'golden yellow,' as butter or
cheese.
Brake, 'kind of harrow.'
Breck, 'portion of a field cultivated by
itself.'
Breeks.
Brockle } brittle.
Bruckle }
Cleak, 'to snatch.'
Cleck }
and(Cletch) } 'brood of young chickens.'
Cleck, 'a crook.'
Click, 'a rent, tear.'
Click-clack, 'idle gossip.'
Crake
(and Craitch) } 'to complain.'
Diker, 'hedger, ditcher, hedge-
sparrow.'
Dike, 'fence, ditch, hedge, stone wall.'
Dockan, 'dock-leaf.'
Drak or } pret. of 'drink.'
Druk }
Drook or } 'drench with water.'
Drook }
Ecky, 'sorry.'
Eke, an addition to a building.
Feckful, 'remorseful.'
Feek, 'quantity, abundance.'
Feak }
Fike } 'to be restless.'
Flaik }
Fleak } 'wattled hurdle.'
Fleck }
Flick } 'fitch.'
Flicker }
Flacker } 'flatter.'
Frecken, 'to frighten.'

Hick, 'to hesitate.'
Hike, 'to swing or sway.'
Kebbuck, 'cheese.'
Larick, 'lark.'
Klick, a peg for hanging.
Maik }
Make } 'match, pair, equal, mate.'
Mickle }
Muckle }
Nicker } sb. and vb.
(and Nicher) }
Nick, 'notch, nick,' etc.
Perrick, 'park.'
Pick, a tool.
Pick, 'pitch.'
Pick, 'dark.'
Pick, 'to pitch, throw.'
Pickle, 'grain of corn.'
Pike, pointed bill.
Plock }
Pluke } 'pimple.'
Pock, 'mark.'
Preek, vb., 'adorn.'
Prick.
Rack, 'seaweed.'
Rack } 'streak of colour, drifting
(Ratch) } clouds.'
Rackle, 'rash,' etc.
Rack, 'reach of water.'
Recklin }
Ricklin } 'last-born.'
Reek, 'smoke'
Rick, 'a pile.'
Roak, 'fog, mist.'
Rock, 'distaff.'
Ruck, 'rick.'
Sec }
Sic } 'such.'
Seck, 'to bring or carry anything.'
Beseek, vb.

Seek, 'sick.'
 Sicket, 'small rivulet.'
 Sike, 'such.'
 Sike, 'small stream or drain.'
 Skrike, 'shriek.'
 Slack, 'idle talk.'
 Slake, 'to smear.'
 Sleek, 'river mud.'
 Sleekit, 'smooth-skinned.'
 Slick, 'smoothly.'
 Smack.
 Smock.
 Snock, 'snap of the jaws.'
 Snook, 'projecting headland.'
 Snoak, 'sniff as a dog.'
 Sneek of gate.
 Sook, 'such.'
 Stacker, 'stagger.'
 Steck } 'a labour dispute.'
 Stick }
 Steck } 'a stich in sewing.'
 Steak }
 Stik }
 Stook of corn.
 Straik } 'a streak or stretch of any-
 Strake } thing.'
 Strike.
 Teakers, running of watery matter
 from a sore.
 moor-Teek, 'a tick.'
 Theck.
 Theak.
 Thake.
 Thock, 'to breathe heavily, pant.'
 Twike, 'a pointed stick.'
 Ukey, 'itchy.'
 Wick, in place-names.
 Yeuk } 'to itch.'
 Yuck }

Dickinson, Cumberland, 1859.

Ac, 'to heed.'
 Akkern, 'acorn.'
 Dikey 'hedge-sparrow.'
 Dyke, 'hedge.'
 Dook, 'to dive.'
 Drakt, 'wet.'
 Drookt, 'very wet.'
 Drukken, 'drunken.'
 Breekin, space between udders of
 a sheep.
 Breeks.
 Brek, 'badger.'
 Brok } 'broken.'
 Brokken }
 Buckle, 'healthy condition.'
 Black.
 Boke, ridge of land left for division
 of ownership.

Beak, 'a beam.'
 Beakk, 'to bake.'
 Beck, 'a brook.'
 Beek, 'to bask by fire.'
 Boke, 'to hinder.'
 Click } 'to snatch.'
 Cleek }
 Feckless.
 Feck, 'to be uneasy.'
 Flacker, 'laugh heartily.'
 Hackt, 'chapped with cold.'
 Lek, 'a leak.'
 Like.
 Larrick, 'lark.'
 Lake, 'to play.'
 Mak, 'to make.'
 Mickle }
 Muckle }
 Mislikken, 'to neglect.'
 Nicker, 'laugh softly.'
 Pick dark.
 Pick, 'pitch.'
 Pickle, 'corn-grain.'
 Plook, 'pimple.'
 Prickers.
 Reek.
 Roke, 'to scratch glass with a point.'
 Sek } 'such.'
 Sik }
 Skrike, 'to scream.'
 Slek, 'to slake.'
 Snek, 'a latch.'
 Snack, 'hasty meal.'
 Stakker, 'to stagger.'
 Streek, 'to stretch.'
 Strickle, for sharpening scythes.
 Swyke, 'thin-made animal.'
 Syke, 'small wet hollow.'
 Theek, 'to thatch.'
 Thak } sb.
 Theak }
 Tokker, 'dowry.'
 Whick, 'alive, quick.'
 Yucks, 'itches.'
 Yik, 'ache.'

Palgrave, Durham, 1896.

Beck, 'stream.'
 Bleck, 'dirty grease on coal-waggons.'
 Brock, 'badger.'
 Bracken.
 Click, 'to catch one in the side.'
 Dyke, 'a hedge' (never 'ditch').
 Heek, 'call for a horse.'
 Hack, 'heavy pick.'
 Howk, 'to dig, throw out.'
 Mickle, (not common).
 Pike, 'large haycock.'
 Reek, 'smoke,' sb. or vb. ?

Rook, 'thick fog, damp.'
 Sneek, 'door latch.'
 Stook, 'bundle of sheaves.'
 Skrike, 'shriek.'
 Keeker, 'an overlooker.'

Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.

Blake, 'sallow.'
 Click, 'to snatch.'
 (H)ewk and } 'the hip.'
 Yewk }
 Mickle.
 Reek, 'smoke.'
 Roke, 'flying mist.'
 Sike, 'such.'
 Skrike.
 Streaked, 'stretched.'
 Thack, sb.
 Theck, vb.

Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.

Beuk }
 Beaks, pl. } book.
 Breeks, 'breeches.'
 Brock, 'badger.'
 Bruckle.
 Clack, 'twaddle.'
 Click }
 (and Clitch) } 'brood,' etc.
 Dike, 'ditch.'
 Eking, 'enlarging.'
 Feak, 'to fetch.'
 (Fetch used in different sense.)
 Fick, 'to struggle, as a child in cradle.'
 Flecked, 'speckled.'
 Bacon-flick.
 Heck, 'hay-rack.'
 Heuk, 'the itch.'
 Hicker, 'higher.'
 Hike, 'to toss up.'
 Keek, 'to half choke.'
 Keckenhearted, 'squeamish at sight of food.'
 Keek, 'to peep.'
 Likly, 'likely.'
 Mickle, adj.
 Pick, 'to pitch.'
 Pickfork.
 Rawk }
 Roke } 'to smoke' (of a fog).
 Reck, 'to care.'
 Reek, 'smoke,' sb. and vb.?
 Scrike, 'a shriek.'
 Siker }
 Sic } 'such.'
 Sleek, 'drink of all kinds.'
 Smeek, 'smoke.'

Snickle, 'to snare game.'
 Steck, 'to fasten the door.'
 Strickle, tool for sharpening scythe.
 Syke, 'rill of water.'
 Thack, sb.
 Theak, vb.
 Wick, 'alive.'

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright, 1892.

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Biøk, 'beak.'
 Brok, 'badger.'
 Daik, 'ditch.'
 Druky, 'drunken.'
 Fikl, adj.
 Flik (of bacon).
 Flikø(r), vb.
 Flok.
 Ik, 'to hitch.'
 Laik.
 Leøk, 'to play.'
 Lik.
 Pik, 'pickaxe.'
 Pluk.
 Prik.
 Prikl.
 Reik, 'to reach.'
 Rik, 'reek.'
 Sik, 'to seek.'
 Skrik, 'to shriek.'
 Slek, 'small coal to slake a fire.'
 Smük, 'to smoke.'
 Snik, 'to cut.'
 Snikit, 'small passage.'
 Speik, vb., 'speak.'
 Straik, vb.
 Striøk, 'a streak, stripe.'
 Strikj, 'stricken.'
 Stukj, 'stunk.'
 Sujuk, 'sunk.'
 Šrukj, 'shrunk.'
 Taik, 'a low fellow.'
 pak, 'thatch.'

Robinson, Mid. Yorks., 1876.

Bleak, 'to talk emptily.'
 Bleck, 'black grease in machinery,'
 (cf. 'bletch' in many dialects).
 Breeks.
 Brekly, 'brittle.'
 Clake, 'to claw.'
 Clik, vb., 'snatch.'
 Clock, kind of beetle.
 Dawk, 'to idle.'
 Douk, 'to drink.'
 Droke, 'to drip with moisture.'

Feck, 'large number.'
 Flack, 'to pulsate heavily'; not in
 common use, but still heard.
 Fleak, 'a wattle.'
 Fluke, 'large kind of maggot.'
 Heck, 'a latch.'
 Laik, 'to play.'
 Mickle, adj.
 Muckle, sb.
 Nicker, 'to neigh.'
 Pick, 'to pitch.'
 Rick, 'rich.'
 Roke, 'to perspire heavily.'
 Srike, 'to scream.'
 Sleak, 'to slake.'
 Snickle, 'to snare with a draw-loop.'
 Snack, 'small portion.'
 Streck, 'straight.'
 Streek, 'to stretch.'
 Strickle, 'a scythe-sharpener.'
 Thack } 'thatch.'
 Theak }
 Wick } 'hawthorn.'
 Wicken }
 Yuke, 'to itch.'

Easter, Huddersfield, W. Yorks., 1881.

Cleek, 'to catch hold, snatch.'
 Cloke, 'to scratch.'
 Dike (douk), 'a ditch.'
 Fick, 'to struggle with the feet.'
 Flick (of bacon).
 Heck, 'a hatch gate.'
 Kecker, 'squeamish, cowed.'
 Like, 'to play.'
 Pick, 'to hitch, throw.'
 Reek, 'smoke.'
 Sic } 'such.'
 (and Sich) }
 Strickle, 'corn-striker.'
 Thaaak, sb.
 Theek, vb.
 Weak, 'to squeak.'
 Wicks, 'hawthorn hedges.'

Thoresby's Letter to Ray, 1703.

Yeke, 'to itch.'
 Clukes, 'clutches.'

Marshall, E. Yorks., 1788.

Whick, 'alive.'
 Thack, sb.
 Theak, vb.
 Theaker, 'a thatcher.'

Ray's Coll. North Country Words, 1691.

Yuck, 'to itch.'
 Streek, 'to stretch.'
 Pleck, 'a place.'
 Make, 'a match.'

Sheffield, S. W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Brickle, 'brittle.'
 Dike, 'river, or any collection of water.'
 Dickfield (in Ecclesfield).
 Hick, 'to hop or spring.'
 Eck, 'to itch.'
 Flake, 'a hurdle.'
 Fleck, 'a spot.'
 Flick, 'fitch.'
 Pick, 'to throw.'
 Pick-fork.
 Prickle, 'to prick.'
 Reik }
 Reyk } 'to reach out.'
 and (Reich) }
 Sick } 'a ditch, ravine.'
 (and Sitch) }
 Speak, vb., 'speech, saying.'
 Strickle.
 Syke, 'a sigh.'
 Thack } 'thatch.'
 Theek }
 Wake, 'to watch with a sick person.'
 Wicks, 'quicks, thorns.'

Lancs., 1875, Nodal and Milner.

Acker, 'to falter, hesitate, cough.'
 Bakster, 'baker.'
 Beck, 'stream.'
 Brickle, 'brittle.'
 Bullock.
 Brock, 'badger.'
 Buck, kind of stake.
 Clack, 'to clutch.'
 Clack, 'to chatter.'
 Clewkin, 'twine, string.'
 Click.
 Cleek, 'a small catch.'
 Crack, 'to boast.'
 Crick, 'local pain.'
 Clock, 'a beetle.'
 Coak, E. and Mid. L. } 'to strain,
 Cowk, S.L. } vomit.'
 Dacker, 'unsettled.'
 Dawk (Fylde) } 'to stoop,
 Deawk, S. and E. Lancs. } plunge.'
 Deck, 'a pack of cards'; obs. since
 1788.
 Daffock, 'slattern.'
 Brade-fleigh } 'bread-rack.'
 Brade-flake }

Fleck, 'flea.'
 Gowk, 'cuckoo.'
 Hack, 'pickaxe.'
 Heak, N.L., 'half-door, hatch'; obs.?
 Hattock, 'sheaf of corn.'
 Lake, 'to play.'
 Layrock, 'lark.'
 Leawk, 'to beat, thrash.'
 Like, adv.
 Lick, 'beat.'
 Lowk, Fylde and N.L., 'to weed.'
 Lock, N.L., 'quantity.'
 Mack, 'maggot.'
 Mak, 'sort, kind.'
 Make.
 Mickle, 'size, bulk.'
 Muck, sb., 'manure.'
 Neck (Fylde), 'to beat, as a watch does.'
 Pike, 'to choose.'
 Pike-fork.
 Pleek, 'place.'
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'
 Powk } 'small boil.'
 Peawk }
 Becony-prick, 'stickleback.'
 Dungpike.
 Pricket, 'six sheaves of corn.'
 Rake.
 Rawky, N.L., 'foggy.'
 Ruck } 'a heap, lot.'
 Rook }
 Ruckle, 'reckless, rash.'
 Intack, 'enclosed field.'
 Hamshackle, 'fasten head of animal
 to its legs.'
 Sike, vb., 'sigh, sob.'
 Sike, 'a drain.'
 Skrike, sb.
 Sleek, 'to slake.'
 Snicket, 'a forward girl.'
 Sock.
 Tack, 'a nasty taste.'
 Tackle, 'to take in hand.'
 Thick, 'friendly,' etc.
 Tickle, 'nice, dainty.'
 Truck, 'trade, business.'
 Tyke, 'awkward man or beast.'
 Wacker, 'to shake, tremble.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1867.

Backen, 'to put backward.'
 Brack, 'a rent.'
 Break, vb.
 Buck, 'part of a plough to which
 horses are attached.'
 Clookin, 'strong cord.'
 Fleek, 'kind of hurdle gate.'
 Fleck, 'a flea' (Holland, also flef).

Flecked, 'spotted.'
 (H)acker, 'to stammer.'
 (H)ack, 'to snap with the mouth.'
 Hike, 'to goad or toss with horns.'
 Huck, 'to hoist the shoulders and back.'
 Huckle, 'to shuffle away.'
 Keck, 'a seedling marigold.'
 Nick, 'to take.'
 Peckle, 'speckle.'
 to Pick a calf.
 Pick, 'to vomit.'
 Pikel, 'hayfork.'
 Plack, 'situation, place.'
 Pricker, 'a thorn, prickle.'
 Sike, 'to sigh.'
 Skrike, 'to shriek.'
 Sleak, 'to put out the tongue.'
 Smicket, 'a woman's shirt.'
 Snacks, 'shares.'
 Sneck, 'a latch.'
 Snicket, 'naughty child.'
 Strickle.
 Suck, 'a ploughshare.'
 Sweak, 'crane for hanging a pot on
 the fire.'
 Thick.
 Threek, 'cluster of thistles in a field.'
 Tweak, 'to pinch.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Beck, 'stream' (obs.).
 Black.
 Cucking-stool (obs.).
 Dike, 'rivulet' ('mound' at present
 time).
 Flecked, 'variegated.'
 Crick in the neck.
 Flik, 'fitch.'
 Freckle.
 Heckle, 'to express indignation.'
 Kleek, 'to clutch.'
 Lake, 'to play.'
 Pick, 'vomit, to pitch hay,' etc.
 Pick, vb., 'pitch.'
 Pik, sb., 'pitch.'
 Pleck, 'a place' (obs. except in place-
 names).
 Prick-eared.
 Pucker, 'hurry.'
 Reckling, 'weakest in a litter.'
 Reek, 'smoke.'
 Sick, 'very small brook.'
 Snack, 'a share.'
 Sneck, 'latch of a door.'
 Strickle, for levelling grain in a
 measure.
 Strike, 'a bushel.'
 Thak, 'thatch.'
 Wake, 'a feast of dedication.'

N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Backen, 'to retard.'
 Beck, 'a brook.'
 Black, 'angry,' etc.
 Breeks.
 Brack, (he) 'broke.'
 Brackle, 'brittle.'
 Boak, 'to be on point of vomiting.'
 Buck, 'smart young man.'
 Bullock, 'to roar.'
 Clack, 'idle talk.'
 to Click, 'hold of.'
 Clock, 'any large beetle.'
 Cluck (of a hen).
 Crack, 'to boast.'
 Cuck-stool.
 Dacker, 'waver.'
 Deek, 'dyke.'
 Dook, 'a handful of straw,' etc.
 Dyke, 'to dig a ditch.'
 Fleck, 'a spot.'
 Fleak, 'hurdle of woven twigs.'
 Flick, 'a flitch.'
 Freckned, 'freckled.'
 Heck, 'a hedge' (rare).
 Hick, 'to lift with a hicking barrow.'
 Huck, 'the hip.'
 to Leak.
 Like, adv. and adj.
 Mawk, 'maggot.'
 Mawkin, 'scarecrow.'
 Muck.
 Nacker, 'a drum.'
 Neck, 'to swallow, to drink.'
 Pick, sb., 'pitch.'
 Pick, 'to pitch.'
 to Prick.
 Rake up.
 Reek, 'smoke.'
 Roak, 'fog, mist.'
 Smock-frock.
 Smook } 'smoke.'
 Smoke }
 Snacks, 'shares.'
 Sneck, 'a latch or catch.'
 Snickle, 'to snare.'
 to Speak.
 (p.p. Speeched, pass., 'spoken to').
 Speak, 'a speech.'
 Spreckled, 'speckled.'
 Stook }
 Stowk } (of corn).
 Sleak, 'to extinguish a fire.'
 Sleek, 'to make the hair smooth.'
 Syke, 'a small brook' (obs.).
 Thack, 'thitch.'
 Tickle, 'nervous, shy.'
 Wykins, 'corners of the mouth.'

S. W. Lincs., 1886, Cole.

Beck, 'stream.'
 Black.
 Bleak.
 Boke, 'to belch.'
 Break, vb.
 Bullock, 'to bully.'
 Clawk } 'to clutch.'
 Click }
 Crack, 'boast.'
 Dyke.
 Eke, 'to lengthen.'
 Flick, 'bacon.'
 Hick, 'to hitch, hoist.'
 Mak, 'to make.'
 Pick, 'tar.'
 Pick, 'to pitch.'
 Prickle, 'to prick.'
 Reek, 'a pile, usually of snow.'
 Slouk, 'to slouch.'
 Thack, sb. and vb., 'thatch.'
 Wacker, 'lively, active.'
 Weekin, 'corner of the mouth.'
 Wicken, 'mountain-ash.'
 Yuck, 'to itch.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Ackern, 'acorn.'
 Ackerning, 'acorn-gathering.'
 Brickle, 'brittle.'
 Ecall, 'green woodpecker.'
 Fleak, 'a hurdle.'
 Hike
 (and Hite) } 'to toss.'
 Peck } 'to pitch forward.'
 Pick }
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'
 Pricker, instrument for making holes
 in blasting.
 Srike, sb. and vb., 'shriek.'
 Seek (of water), 'to percolate, find its
 way.'
 Sike, 'to sigh.'
 Spok, sb., 'talk.'
 Strickle for corn.
 Tweak, 'a severe attack of illness.'

Salop Ant., Hartshorne, 1841.

Prick, 'prop for supporting shafts of
 a cart.'
 Eeke, 'to increase.'

Staffs., Poole, 1880.

Freek, 'man, fellow.'
 Sike, 'to pant for breath.'

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Ackern, 'acorn.'
 Backen, 'to'
 Bellock.
 Black, adj.
 Bleak, 'pallid, white-faced.'
 Brack, 'to break.'
 Brock, 'badger.'
 Buck, 'wash,' etc.
 Cuck, 'chuck.'
 Dike, 'ditch.'
 Flick, 'fitch.'
 Hack, 'to use the rake in haymaking.'
 Hike, 'to butt with the horns.'
 Lack, 'loss.'
 Lik.
 Peaked, 'wasted.'
 Peek, 'to pry.'
 Pick, 'pitch.'
 Pickle, 'a pitchfork.'
 Prockle, 'to poke.'
 Rack, 'break up.'
 Wake, an annual village feast.
 Waik } 'weak'
 Wik }
 Shockle, 'to shake.'
 Sike, 'to sigh.'
 Stook (of corn).
 Thack, vb. and sb.
 Tweak, 'to twitch.'

Rutland, Worthworth, 1891.

Dike, 'ditch.'
 to Prick out, 'lengthen out' (of days).
 Quooken, 'to choke.'
 Reek, 'to smoke, steam.'
 Thack.

E. Angl., Ryc., 1895.

Beck, 'brook.'
 Blackcap, 'marsh-tit.'
 Bleck, 'pale, sickly.'
 Brackly, 'brittle.'
 Clack, 'to clatter.'
 Crickle }
 Cruckle } 'to bend under a weight.'
 Deek }
 Dick } 'ditch.'
 Dike }
 Flack, 'to hang loose.'
 Flick of bacon.
 Flick, 'down of hares, etc.'
 Hack
 (and Hatch) } 'hatch gate.'
 Hick, 'to hop.'
 Hike, 'to go away.'

Hickel }
 (and Hitchel) } 'hemp-dresser's comb.'
 Hickler }
 (and Hitchler) }
 Huckles, 'the hips.'
 Pick, 'an eel-spear.'
 Prick } sharp-pointed iron instru-
 (and Pritch) } ment (also in Nall, 1866).
 Roke, 'a fog.'
 Snickle, } 'a slip-knot' (also in
 (or Snittle) } Nall).
 Thack, 'thatch.'
 Wicker, 'to neigh.'
 Nall (1866) has Streek, 'to iron out
 clothes' (= 'stretch'?).
 Specke, 'woodpecker.'

Herefordsh., Havelgal, 1887.

Sriek, 'to shriek.'
 Snack, 'light repast.'
 Quacked }
 Queeeked } 'squeezed.'
 Ackern, 'acorn.'
 Eacle }
 Heele } 'icicle, woodpecker.'
 Keek, 'to be sick.'
 Sicking, 'sighing.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Wores.), Lawson,
1884.*

Nicker, 'to snigger.'
 Peck, 'to pitch, fall forward.'

W. Wores., Chamberlain, 1882.

Eacle, 'woodpecker.'
 Ickle, 'to long for.'
 Peckled, 'speckled.'
 Peck, 'pitch forward.'
 Sike, 'to sigh.'
 Thack, sb. and vb.
 Wicker, small basket for packing salt.

S.E. Wores., Salisbury, 1893.

Backen, 'to keep back.'
 Black-bat, 'black-beetles.'
 Belluck, 'to roar.'
 Deck, 'pack of cards.'
 Douk, 'duck the head.'
 to Dock a horse.
 Eckle, 'woodpecker.'
 Hockle, 'to shuffle along.'
 Nicker, 'to laugh rudely.'
 Mawkin, 'scarecrow.'
 Pick, 'pickaxe.'

Puck, 'stye in the eye.'
 Quick, 'young hawthorn plants.'
 Ruck, 'fold or crease.'
 Skreek-owl, 'the swift.'
 Wake, 'village feast.'
 Wick, 'week.'

Warwicksh., Northall., 1896.

Bellock, 'to roar.'
 Blackie, 'blackbird.'
 Flicket, 'to flutter, flicker.'
 Hacker, 'kind of axe.'
 Hickie, 'woodpecker.'
 Hike, 'to toss, to haul.'
 Hoekle, 'hobble.'
 Make.
 Mawks, 'slatternly woman.'
 Muck.
 Nicker, 'to jeer, snigger.'
 Peck, 'a pick for coals,' etc.
 Peek, 'to peep, pry.'
 Pikel, 'pitchfork.'
 Pleck, 'a small enclosure.'
 Sick.
 Slack, 'small coal.'
 Sneak.
 Sock, 'filth, mire.'
 Stock, 'to grub up.'
 Strike.
 to Suck.
 Syke, 'bacon.'
 Thack, vb.
 Thick.
 Wik, 'a week.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Bleak, 'pale, sickly.'
 Brickle, 'brittle.'
 Eke
 (and *-ch* form) } 'to add to.'
 Flick, 'fitch.'
 Hackle, 'to put the hay in rows in raking.'
 Quick, 'young hawthorn plants.'
 Reck, 'steam,' sb. and vb.
 Skrike } 'to shriek.'
 Skreek }
 Thack (obs. ?).
 Whicks, 'plants of white-thorn.'

Beds., Batchelor, 1809.

Broked, 'liable to split, brittle.'
 Skriek, 'screech.'
 Thek, 'thatch.'

Suff., Moor, 1823.

Chicked, 'sprouted' (of corn).
 to Eke out.
 Flick of bacon.
 Queak } 'to squeak' (said of
 (and Queech) } a hare).
 Reek, 'steam.'

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Ackern, 'acorn.'
 Blackthorn.
 Brake, 'a corpse.'
 Break, 'to tear.'
 Brickut, of a cat, on heat.
 Chackle, 'to cackle.'
 Cock-band, 'stickleback.'
 Craiky, 'weak, infirm.'
 Crick, 'corner.'
 Drock
 (and Druff) } 'a covered drain.'
 Eckle, 'green woodpecker.'
 Flake, 'wattled hurdle.'
 Flickets, 'little pieces.'
 Flick, 'snap of a dog.'
 Gluck, 'to swallow with difficulty'
 (S. Glos.).
 Keck, 'to retch.'
 Laiking, 'idling,' etc.
 Like, adverbial termination.
 Mike, 'to loaf, to mitch.'
 Moke.
 Nacker, 'to tremble with passion.'
 Peck, 'pickaxe.'
 Peck, 'to pitch forward, to pitch.'
 Pick, 'a hayfork.'
 Pick-pike, 'pitchfork.'
 Plack }
 Pleck } portion of a field.
 Puck, small stock of sheaves.
 Screek, 'shriek.'
 Skrike, 'shriek.'
 Slick, 'smooth.'
 Smack.
 Snack, kind of fungus on trees.
 Specks } 'pieces of wood for keeping
 Spicks } 'thatch in place.'
 Strick } 'instrument for levelling
 } 'corn in the bushel.'
 Stuck, 'sheaf of corn.'
 Tack
 (and Tach) } 'an unpleasant flavour.'
 Thick, 'this.'
 Thuck, 'that.'
 Weck, 'to whimper.'

Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.

Clack, 'talk, noise.'

Berks., Lowsley, 1888.

Bellock, 'bellow.'
 Brukkle, 'brittle.'
 Ekkern, 'acorn.'
 Hike! 'move off!'
 Keck, 'make a choky noise in the throat.'
 Mickle, used in proverb—"Every little makes, etc."
 Snack
 (and Snatch) } 'a small piece.'
 Vleck, hare or rabbit fur.
 Whicker, 'to neigh.'

Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Crick, 'to strain some part of body.'
 Crook.
 Cuckold, 'duck.'
 Aleek, 'alike.'
 Back.
 Bakin, quantity of dough kneaded at one time.
 Black, adj.
 Bicker, 'a vessel.'
 Bicky, 'hide and seek.'
 Brack, 'fat covering intestines of edible animals.'
 Break, 'upland.'
 Brickle, 'brittle.'
 Broc, 'badger.'
 Brocket, young male deer.
 Buck.
 Dik, 'ditch.'
 Dock, 'crupper.'
 Facket, 'faggot.'
 Flick, 'fat round kidneys of pig.'
 Hack, vb.
 Hackly, 'to haggle.'
 Hick, 'to hop.'
 Hike out, 'turn out.'
 Hurdock, 'robin.'
 Hoke, 'gore with horns.'
 Hook.
 Leat, 'to leak.'
 Leek, 'plant.'
 Lick.
 Look.
 Mack, 'magpie.'
 Make.
 Muck.
 Nick } 'a bundle.'
 Nitch }
 Parrick, 'paddock.'
 Pick, 'a hayfork.'
 Prick, 'to track a hare.'
 Rack, 'frame.'
 to Rake.
 Seeked, 'sought.'
 Shackle, 'to litter.'

Slack, adj.
 Smock.
 Snack, 'hasty meal.'
 Spicket, 'spigot.'
 Suck, vb.
 Take.
 Take forward.
 Thick, 'that.'
 Thack.
 Tookt, 'taken.'
 Truckle, 'small cheese.'
 Twick, 'to tweak, jerk.'
 Wack, 'to overcome.'
 Wake, 'to watch by a corpse.'
 Wicked days, 'weekdays' (always).
 Vrick, 'to wrench, sprain.'
 Yuckle, 'woodpecker.'

Devon, Hewett, 1892.

Nickies, 'small faggots.'
 (Cf. Nitch, 'bundle of wood.')

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.

Bake } 'break up land with mattock.'
 Beak }
 Back.
 Blackberry.
 Bleat = 'bleak.'
 Bellock, 'cry like frightened child.'
 Blicker, 'to glimmer,' S.W.
 Brack, 'fracture.'
 Break, N.W.
 Dicky, 'deranged, weakly.'
 Dicker, 'to bedeck,' N.W.
 Droock, 'short drain.'
 Druck, 'crowd,' S.W.
 Drucked, 'filled to overflowing.'
 Flick
 (and Flitch) } perf., N.W., obs.
 Flick } 'internal fat of a pig.'
 Fleck }
 Bruckle, vb.
 Frickle, 'to potter.'
 Stickle.
 Truckle, 'to roll,' N.W.
 Hackle, 'covering for beehive.'
 Mickle.
 Muckle.
 Hike, 'to hook or catch.'
 Keck, 'to be sick.'
 Muck.
 Pick, 'a pitchfork.'
 Peck, 'a pickaxe.'
 Rack, 'animal's track.'
 Roke, 'smoke,' S.W.
 Rimmick, 'smallest pig of a litter.'
 Rick.

Slicket, 'thin lath of wood.'
 Sleek and } 'slippery,' N.W.
 Sleet }
 Slack, 'impudence,' S.W.
 Smicket, 'smock.'
 Snake.
 Sprack, 'lively.'
 Spick, S.W., 'peg for thatching.'
 Strick, 'strike.'
 Stuck, 'a spike.'
 Ticking-pig, 'sucking-pig.'
 Thick here = 'this' } N.W.
 Thick = 'that' }
 Uck, 'to shove.'
 Wake, 'raked-up hay,' N.W.
 Wicker, 'to neigh, bleat.'
 Wick }
 Rick } 'to twist, wrench.'

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Akering, 'picking up acorns.'
 Bannick, 'to thrash.'
 Broke, 'a fall of timber.'
 Crock, 'earthen pot.'
 Dik, 'a ditch.'
 Flick, 'down of hares and rabbits.'
 -Like, 'comfortable-like,' etc.
 Nucker, 'to neigh.'
 Peaked, 'unwell.'
 Picky, 'dainty.'
 Picky, 'gipsy.'
 Reek, 'steam, smoke.'
 Squacket, 'to quack like a duck.'
 'Issick, 'a cough.'
 Tussock, 'tuft of rank, coarse grass.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Blackie, 'blackbird.'
 Black.
 Bruckle.
 Dick, 'ditch.'
 Dickers, 'ditchers.'
 Deek, 'ditch.'
 Drake-weed.
 Ecker, 'to stammer.'
 Fack, 'stomach of a ruminant.'
 Fakement, 'pain,' etc.
 Fleck, 'rabbits, ground game.'
 Flecky, 'flaky.'
 Flucking, tooth-comb for horse's mane.
 Hicket.
 Hike, 'turn out.'
 Hocken-headed, 'passionate.'
 Huck, 'pod of peas,' etc.
 Like.
 Lucking-mill.

Moke, 'mesh of a net.'
 Muck, vb.
 Muck, sb., 'a busy person.'
 Peek, 'to stare.'
 Pick.
 Prick up ears.
 Pucker, 'state of excitement.'
 Ruddock, 'robin.'
 Ruck, 'an uneven heap or lump.'
 Ruckle, 'struggle.'
 Slick, 'slippery.'
 Sucker.
 Strike.
 Strickle, 'a striker.'
 Tack, 'an unpleasant taste.'
 Wik, 'week.'

W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.

Clack, 'noise.'
 Swike, 'a twig of heath.'
 Veak (and veach), 'whitlow.'

E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.

Breck, 'a rent or hole in a garment.'
 Thekky }
 Thekka } 'that one.'

Hants., Cope, 1883.

Bellock, 'to bellow.'
 Bruckle }
 Brickle } 'brittle.'
 Dik, 'ditch.'
 Fleck } 'part of a pig before boiling'
 Flick } 'down into lard.'
 Keek, 'to retch.'
 Pick, 'hayfork.'
 Rock, 'to reek, steam.'
 Roak, 'steam,' sb.
 Spick }
 Speck } 'lavender.'
 Thic, 'this.'
 Thuck, 'that.'
 Vlick, 'to comb out the hair.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Bruckle, 'brittle.'
 Flick }
 Vlick } 'lard of inside of a pig.'
 Vlick o' bacon, 'fitch,' etc.
 Skreak, 'to creak.'
 Strick, 'to strike.'
 Thic and theck.
 Vleck, 'comb out hair.'
 Whicker, 'to neigh.'
 Hocks, 'the feet' (Long, 1886).

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Ache, 'to tire.'
 Beck, 'a mattock.'
 Boke, 'nauseate.'
 Coke, 'to fry.'
 Cluck of a hen who wants to sit.
 Dick, 'a ditch.'
 Flake, 'cleft wood.'

Fleck } 'fur of rabbits.'
 Flick }
 Hack, 'to cough, faintly and frequently.'
 Hike, 'to call roughly.'
 Hocklands, 'hock-shaped pieces of meadow land.'
 Knicker, 'to whinny.'
 Roke, 'steam,' etc.

Non-initial *nk, lk, rk.**Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Bink } 'shelf, flat slab fixed to a wall
 Benk } as seat or shelf.'
 Bink } 'to glance with pleasure.'
 Bink }
 Clink, 'to clench.'
 Clunk, 'hiccup.'
 Denk } 'squeamish, dainty,
 (and Dench) } rare.'
 Binklin } 'last-born.'
 Wrenkel }
 Serankit, 'shrunken.'
 Bog-spink, 'cuckoo-flower.'
 Kin-cough = Kink-cough.
 Fenkle, 'bend or corner of street or river.'
 Spenk, 'spark, match,' also 'pluck.'
 Prinklin, 'stinging sensation felt when body goes to sleep.'
 Birk }
 Brick } 'birch.'
 Briker }
 Dark, 'blind.'
 Kirk.
 Kirkeet, 'churchyard.'
 Kirk-yerd.
 Lork }
 (and Lorch) } 'to lurk, lie in wait.'
 Spark, 'small spot of mud.'
 Starken, 'become stiff.'
 Stirk }
 Stork } 'young heifer.'
 Wark.
 Belk.
 Ilk } 'every.'
 Ilka }
 Kelk, vb. and sb., 'severe blow.'
 Kelk, 'roe of a fish.'
 Pulke, 'a petition.'
 Spelk, 'small splinter.'
 Whilk, 'which.'

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Blenk } 'a gleam.'
 Blink }
 Benk } 'ledge of rock.'
 Bink }
 Brank, 'to hold the head affectedly.'
 Brenkt, 'of colour of a white sheep with black legs and belly.'
 Drunk.
 Hank, 'to fasten with a hoop.'
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'
 Strinkle, 'to sprinkle.'
 Clink.
 Kink, 'twist in rope, sound of whooping-cough.'
 Birk tree.
 Kirk.
 Mirk, 'dark.'
 Wark.
 Belk, 'to belch.'
 Ilk, 'every.'
 Milkin, 'hill.'
 Pelk, 'to beat.'
 Spelk, 'splint, rib of a basket.'
 Whilkan, 'which one.'
 Whilk, 'which.'
 Wilk, 'bark of a young dog in close pursuit.'

Durham, Palgrave, 1896.

Sark, 'shirt.'
 Stirkin, 'to cool and stiffen as gravy does.'
 Wa(r)k, 'to ache.'
 Spelk, 'thorn or splinter in the flesh'; cf. Spelch in Warwcs., etc.

Swalldale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.

Bink, 'stone bench.'
 Kink- } cough.
 King- }
 Bull-spink.
 Birk.
 Kirk.
 Wark, 'to ache.'
 Belk, vb.
 Kelk, 'violent blow.'
 Whilk, 'which.'

Whitby, (N. K. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.

Bink, 'bench.'
 Blenk, 'a blemish.'
 Bull-spink, 'chaffinch.'
 Kink, 'cough.'
 Birk.
 Kirk.
 Snoork } 'sniff, snore, grunt.'
 Snork }
 Stark, 'stiff.'
 Wark.
 Belk, vb.
 Ilk } 'each.'
 Ilka }
 Milkhus, 'dairy.'
 Spelkas, 'small sticks.'
 Whilk, 'which.'

*Windhill, N. Central Yorks.,
 Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Benk, 'bench.'
 Drenk, 'drank.'
 Drink, 'to drink.'
 Fink, 'to think.'
 Kink, 'cough.'
 Slenk, 'slunk.'
 Slink, 'to slink.'
 Stink, 'stink.'
 Twinkl, 'twinkle.'
 Wink, 'wink.'
 Båkn, 'horse-collar.'
 Wåk, sb., 'work.'
 Wåk, vb., 'work.'
 Wåk, 'pain, ache.'

Mid. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Bink, 'bench.'
 (Bench also heard occasionally.)
 Blink, 'to wink.'
 Hullspink, 'chaffinch.'
 Crinkle, 'to bend tortuously.'

Glink, 'a short watchful glance.'
 Kincough, 'hooping-cough.'
 Belk } 'to belch.'
 Bilk }
 Belk, 'condition of body or temper.'
 Kelk } 'a blow.'
 Kilk }
 Swilk, 'splash of water in a cask.'
 Welk, 'a sounding thwack.'
 Wilk, 'which' (occasional in Mid and
 N. Yorks).
 Barkam, 'horse-collar.'
 Birk.
 Kirk.
 Wark, 'to ache.'

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easter, 1881.

Bank } 'bench.'
 Benk }
 Glenk } 'glimpse' (also glent, glint).
 Glink }
 Kink, 'to choke.'
 Kinkcough (and Chincough).
 Bullspink, 'bullfinch.'
 Felks, pieces of wood from which form
 the circumference of a wheel. Cf.
 O.E. felz, felza, the felly or fellow
 of a wheel. Cf. also fellicks in
 Lancs. (see Halliwell), and below,
 Sheffield.
 Spelk, 'splint of wood.'
 Birk.
 Ballywark, 'stomach-ache.'
 Wark, 'work.'

E. Yorks., Marshall, 1788.

Spelk, 'splinter, thin piece of wood.'
 Whilk, 'which.'

N. of Engl., J. H., 1781.

Kelk, 'to kick.'

Sheffield, S. W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Benk, 'a bench.'
 Kink, 'choke, sob.'
 Kincough.
 a Sink for water.
 Spink, 'a finch.'
 Strinkle.
 Wark, 'ache.'
 Felk } 'felloe of a wheel.' (Cf.
 (and Felly) } above, Huddersf.)

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.

Blinket, 'a person blind in one eye.'
 Bonk, 'a bank.'
 Cank, 'to talk, chatter.'
 Dank, 'to depress, damp.'
 Hanke, 'to twist.'
 Kink } 'to lose the breath with
 Chink } coughing, etc.'
 Kin-cough.
 Mank, 'a sportive trick.'
 Penk, 'to strike a small blow.'
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'
 Bethink, 'call to mind.'
 Ark, 'chest.'
 a Birk tree.
 Dark, 'blind'
 Hurkle, 'to stoop, squat.'
 Querk, N. L., 'to cheat.'
 Sark, 'shirt.'
 Stark, 'stiff.'
 Kelk, N. L., 'to strike.'
 Spelk, 'chip of wood.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Bonk, 'bank.'
 Clink.
 Kink.
 Slinkaz, 'to loiter.'
 Wrinkle.
 Milken, 'to milk.'
 Swilk } of liquids in a vessel, 'to
 Swilker } sway and spill.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Crank, 'brisk, lively.'
 Kinough and Chincough.
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'
 Birk (the tree).
 Dark, 'blind.'
 Kirk, 'church.'
 Stark.
 Stirk, 'young bullock.'
 Wark, 'to throb.'
 Wilk, 'to bark.'

N.E. Lancs., Peacock, 1889.

Bank, 'to heap up.'
 Bink, 'workman's bench.'
 Bunk, 'run away.'
 Blink, 'to wink, or wince.'
 Chunk, 'a lump.'
 Drink, sb.
 Dunky } breed of pig.
 Dunk }

Hank, 'skain.'
 Hank, 'to clear the throat.'
 Hunk, 'a chunk.'
 Kink, 'a hoist, or hitch.'
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'
 Rank, 'strong.'
 Sink, 'a drain.'
 Sprink
 (and Sprint) } 'to sprinkle.'
 Belk { vb., 'to belch.'
 { sb., 'force, violence.'
 Bulk, 'a beam.'
 Kelk
 (and Kelch) } 'a blow.'
 Milk-beast, 'cow.'
 Ark.
 Birk (the tree).
 Dark, 'a secret'; adj., 'wicked.'
 Furk, 'a fork.'
 Kerk, 'a cork.'
 Kirk, perhaps obsolete here (in Wap-
 entakes of Manby and Corsingham),
 but still current in N.E. Lancs.
 Stark, 'stiff.'
 Stirk, 'young bullock.'
 Wark, sb. and vb.

S. W. Lancs., Cole, 1886.

Brink, 'brim.'
 Clinker, 'clincher.'
 Dunk } 'short, thick-set.'
 Dunky }
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'
 Birk, 'birch-tree.'
 Perk, 'perch.'
 Stark.
 Pulk, 'a coward.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Chink-chink, 'chaffinch.'
 Clinker, 'cinder of iron dross.'
 Crink, 'very small apple.'
 Drink, sb., 'ale.'
 Spink, 'chaffinch.'
 Slink, 'to draw back, as a horse about
 to bite.'
 (Sal. Ant. Hartshorne, 1841, has Skelk,
 'to shrink,' applied to coffin-wood.
 Clinker = clincher, large nails which
 turn up over toe of boot.)

Staffs., Poole, 1880.

Stirk, 'young calf.'

Leicestersh., Evans, 1881.

Brink, 'brim.'
 Kink, 'to twist awry.'
 Swank, 'to swagger.'
 Firk, 'stir up.'
 Perk, 'to bridle up.'
 Stirk, 'cow-calf.'
 Bilk.
 Swelking, 'sultry, hot.' (Swelter, 'to get over hot.')

Swalker	}	'noise of liquid inside a barrel or boots, etc.'
Squalker		

Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.

Strinkling, 'a sprinkling.'
 Firk, 'commotion, fuss.'
 Work, 'to manage, go on.'

E. Angl., Rye, 1895.

Blunk, 'tempestuous.'
 Brank, 'buckwheat.'
 Clinkers } 'bricks used for paving
 } 'stables.'
 Crinkle, 'to rumple.'
 Funk, 'touchwood.'
 Kink, 'to be entangled' (of thread).
 Link-pin, 'linch-pin.'
 Scrinkled, 'shrivelled.'
 Skink, 'to serve to drink.'
 Slink, (of a cow) 'to slip her calf.'
 Dilk, 'a small cavity in a surface.'
 Kelks, 'the testes.'
 Work, 'to ache.'

Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.

Lonck, 'the groin.'
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'
 Srink, 'to shrink.'
 Chark, 'coal burnt on top of kilns.'
 Charky, 'dry in mouth.'
 Peerk, 'perch of land.'

Warwes., Northall., 1896.

Bunk, 'to bolt off.'
 Dink.
 Pink, 'chaffinch.'
 Ronk, 'rank, strong.'
 Tank, 'to strike, knock.'
 Nirker, 'something difficult to overcome.'
 Baks, 'ridge of land between two fields.'
 Bilk, 'to cheat.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Bink, 'a bench.'
 Chin-cough.
 and Chink-cough.
 Hunk of bread and cheese.

Glos. Robertson, 1890.

Blink, 'spark of fire.'
 Chin-cough.
 Crank, 'dead branch of tree.'
 Crinks } 'refuse apples.'
 Crinkets }
 Chink, 'chaffinch.'
 Dink, 'to dandle a baby.'
 Drink.
 Link, 'chaffinch.'
 Sink, 'sunken gutter.'
 Slenks, 'to sink.'
 Thunk, 'thorny' (obs.).
 Twink, 'chaffinch.'
 Charky, 'very dry.'
 Churk, 'cow's udder.'
 Starky, 'shrivelled up.'
 Gulkin, 'a hollow hole with water.'
 Yolk up, 'to cough up.'

Berks., Lowsley, 1888.

Blink, 'spark of fire.'
 Sterk, 'stiff.'
 Virkin, 'scratching of a dog for fleas.'

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Banker, 'bench for dressing stones.'
 Drink, sb. and vb.
 Hank, 'skein.'
 Hunk, 'hunch.'
 Kink, 'twist in a rope.'
 Prink, 'deck out.'
 Sprank and sprinkle.
 Stink.
 Wink, 'well from which water is drawn by a winch, chain, and bucket.'
 Berk, 'bark of dog.'
 Hark, vb.
 'Wuurk,' sb. and vb.
 Quirk, 'to die.'
 Balk, 'beam.'
 Belk = Buulk, 'to belch.'
 Hulk, 'grain mixed with chaff.'
 Milk.
 Yelk of egg.

Devonsh., Hewett, 1892.

Flink, 'to sprinkle.'
 Twink, 'to chastise.'

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Wink, 'a winch or crank.'

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard.

Blink, 'spark, ray.'
 Crink, 'crevice.'
 Flunk, 'spark of fire.'
 Hank, 'dealings with,' S.W.
 Quanked } 'overpowered with fatigues'
 } = 'quenched' ?
 Rank } 'audacious.'
 Bonk }
 Barken, 'enclosed yard near farm-house.'
 Flirk, 'to flick.'
 Firk, 'to worry.'
 Fork.
 Nurk, 'worst pig of litter.'
 Hurkle, 'form of hurdle.'
 Quirk, 'to complain.'
 Starky, 'stiff, dry.'
 Stark, 'to dry up,' N.W.
 Baulk, 'bare space missed by sower.'
 Milkmaids.

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Clinkers, 'hard cinders from forge.'
 Chunk.
 Hink, 'hook used in cutting peas.'
 Kink in a rope.
 Kinkle, 'wild mustard.'
 Twink, 'a sharp, shrewish woman.'
 Perk, 'to fidget about.'
 Snirk, 'to dry, wither.'
 Kilk, 'wild mustard.'
 Swelked, 'overcome by excessive heat.'
 Whilk, 'to complain, mutter.'

E. Cornwall, Couch, 1880.

Belk, 'to belch.'
 Wilk }
 Wulk } 'a ridgy lump or tumour.'
 Wilé }
 Wilky, 'toad or frog.'

Quilkins and toads: Budget of C. Poems, 25.

Wilky, 'young toad or frog': Couch, E. Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864.

W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.

Blink, 'a spark.'
 Crunk, 'croak like a raven.'
 Flink, 'to fling.'
 Hunk }
 (and Hunch) } 'large piece.'
 Belk, 'belch' (also in Garland, W. Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864).
 Bulk, 'toss with the horns.'
 Whelk } 'stye in the eye.'
 Whilk }
 Quilkin, 'young toad or frog,' *ibid.*

Hants., Cape, 1883.

Chink, 'chaffinch.'
 Conk, 'to croak.'
 Whilk = Wilk, 'howl like a dog.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Carly, 'amazed.'
 Querk, 'a sigh, to fret.'

Long, 1886.

Clink, 'a smart blow.'
 Kink, 'in a rope,' etc.

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Clinkers, 'small bricks burnt very hard for paving.'
 Drink, 'medicine for cattle.'
 Kink in a rope.
 Link, 'green, wooded bank on side of a hill.'
 Kilk, 'charlock.'
 Whilk, 'to howl, to mutter.'

III.

Non-initial *ch* in the Modern Dialects.*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-94.*

Bleach, 'act of rain falling in a strong wind.'
 Bleach, 'a black shale found near a coal-seam.'
 Bloacher, 'any large animal.'
 Britchin, 'part of harness.'
 Clatch, 'mess, slops.'
 Cletch
 (and Cleck) } 'brood of young birds.'
 Clotch, 'awkward person.'
 Craitch
 (and Crake) } 'to complain.'
 Fetch, vb., Fitch, 'to shift.'
 Hatch, 'a gate.'
 Hitch, vb.
 Hotch, 'to shake with laughter.'
 Keach, 'to heave up.'
 Kitchen.
 Letch 'long narrow swamp with water among rushes, etc.'
 Nicher
 (and Nicker) } 'to neigh,' sb. and vb.
 Platchy-footed, 'flat-footed.'
 Ratch
 (and Rack) } 'reach of water.'
 Roach, 'to make uneven.'
 Sloach, 'to drink in a greedy way.'
 Spatchel } 'turf used in bedding stone.'
 Spetchel }
 Stech, 'to fill to repletion.'
 Stitch, 'an acute pain.'
 Swatch, 'a sample.'
 Switch, 'to go quickly.'
 Twitch, 'for horse's nose.'

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Batch.
 Botch.
 Fitch, 'vetch.'
 Flaith, 'flatter.'
 Fratch, 'noisy quarrel.'
 Mitch, 'much.'
 Slitch, 'fine mud on shores of an estuary.'
 Slotch, 'walk heavily.'
 Stritch, 'to strut.'
 Switcher, 'any fast-going thing.'
 Skaitch, 'to beat, thrash.'

Durham, Palgrave, 1896.

Fetch up, 'bring up, rear.'
 Cletching, 'a brood of chickens.'

Swaledale (N. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.

Cleth, 'brood of chickens.'
 (H.itch, 'to hop on one leg.'
 Mich, 'much.'

Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.

Airmstritch, 'arm-stretch.'
 Batch.
 Clitch and Click, 'a brood.' (Clitch is also in Ray's N. Country Words, 1691.)
 to Fetch the breath.
 Hetch, 'a hatch.'
 Mitch, 'much.'
 Smatch, 'flavour.'
 Smitches, 'small stains.'
 Snitch, 'a noose or loop' (but Snickle, 'to snare birds,' etc., in same dialect).
 Twichbell, 'earwig.'

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright, 1892.

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Bitš, 'bitch.'
 Bleitš, 'bleach.'
 Breitš, 'breach.'
 Britš-az, 'breeches.'
 Britš, 'breach.'
 Etš, 'hatch.'
 Fotš, 'fetch.'
 Leitš, 'leach.'
 Notš.
 Retš, 'wretch.'
 Sitš, 'such.'
 Speitš, 'speech.'
 Stitš, 'stitch.'
 Stretš.
 Witš, 'which.'
 Wotš, 'to watch.'

Mid Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Batch, 'a set, company.'
 Clutch, 'brood of chickens.'
 Fetch, 'said of breathing with a painful effort.'
 Meech, 'to loiter about.'
 Mistetch, 'to misteach.'
 Smatch, 'a flavour' (often called smat).
 Twitchbell, 'earwig.'

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easther, 1881.

Blotch
 Fotch or } 'fetch.'
 Fot }
 Hotch } 'whitch.'
 Hutch }
 Mich, 'much.'
 Witch (applied to both sexes).

Sheffield, S. W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Dyche Lane (street in Norton).
 Fetch, 'to give.'
 Fitches, 'vetches.'
 Mich, 'much.'
 Pitch and toss.
 Reech, 'to be sick.'
 Reechy } 'smoky.'
 (and Reeky) }
 Sitch } 'a ditch,' especially in
 (and Sick) } place-names.
 Sich, 'such.'
 Smatch, 'taste, flavour.'
 Snitch, 'to reveal a secret' (cf. 'to sneak').
 Snatch and } 'a bit of food.'
 (and Snack) }
 Spetches, 'odds and ends of leather.'
 Twitchel, 'a stout stick.'
 Twitch, 'to pinch, bind tightly.'
 Witchin } 'mountain ash.' (Cf.
 (and Wiggen) } Wicken in other
 dialects.)

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1876.

Hatchhorn }
 Hatchorn } 'acorn.'
 (and Akran) }
 Batch-cake.
 Britchell, 'brittle.'
 Clatch } 'brood of chickens.'
 Clutch }
 Creechy, 'sickly, ailing.'
 Crutch, 'to crowd.'
 Doych-back, 'rampart above a ditch,'
 1750, obs.

Fratch, 'quarrelsome' and vb.
 Mychin, 'out of humour.'
 Gobolotch, 'a glutton.'
 Lutch, 'to pulsate.'
 Hutch, 'to hoard, to sit close' (Fylde).
 Lotchin, 'limping.'
 Latch, 'a take, catch.'
 Leech, 'pond in hollow of a road.'
 Pitch-and-toss.
 Pytch, 'hire of bees.'
 Ratch, 'space in loom betwixt yarn-beams and healds.'
 Ratch, 'to stretch.'
 Reech, 'smoke, reck' (sb. and vb.?).
 Seech, 'to seek.'
 Sich-like.
 Slutch, 'mud.'
 Slotch, 'drunkard, disgusting fellow.'
 Smouch, 'a kiss.'
 Oytch, 'each.'
 Thrutch, 'to push, press.'
 Twitchel, 'implement for holding a restive horse.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Aitch, 'sudden access of pain, ache.'
 Achernin, 'acorn.'
 Atchern, 'gathering acorns.'
 Betch.
 Hitch.
 Bleaching, 'hot, very hot.'
 Blatch, 'black mess in wheels.'
 Blotch, 'blot.'
 Breech.
 Britcha, 'brittle.'
 Fatch, 'to fetch.'
 (H)atch, 'garden gate.'
 Natch, 'cog on a wheel.'
 Pitch, 'tar.'
 Reechy, 'smoky.'
 Retch, 'to stretch.'
 Sleach, 'to scoop out liquids.'
 Slutch, 'slush.'
 Smetch, 'to give a bad flavour to.'
 Smouch, 'to kiss.'
 Snaitch, 'sharp, of heat or cold.'
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'
 Thatch.
 Twitch for holding horses.
 Witch, vb., 'bewitch.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Bricha, 'brittle.'
 Cratch, 'sort of rough shed; now used for a rack in a stable.'
 Hitch, 'move a little.'

Itch } 'move, stir.'
 Utch }
 Pitch, 'a small box to keep salt in.'
 Pleaching, 'a hedge.'
 Ratchel, 'poor land with a quantity of
 small stones.'
 Sloutch.
 Teach.
 Thrutch, 'to thrust.'
 Twitch-grass.
 Witch } 1. 'a small candle.'
 } 2. 'to make weight.'

N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Blotch, sb. and vb., 'blot.'
 Breechband, the 'brichin.'
 Ditch-water.
 Clutch, 'a handful.'
 Crutch.
 Fetch, 'to give.'
 Fratch, 'petty theft.'
 Hitch, 'to move.'
 Itching.
 Loitch, 'cunning, clever' (of dogs).
 Mich, 'much.'
 Ratch, 'to stretch, exaggerate.'
 Reach, 'to vomit, to help to.'
 Sich, 'such.'
 Switch, 'a twig.'
 Twitch, 'stick for holding horses.'

S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.

Breach, 'misbehaviour.'
 Clutch, 'brood of chickens.'
 Much, 'to grudge.'
 Ratch, 'to stretch.'
 Reach, 'to reach.'
 Speech, 'to speak.'
 Sprech, of eggs, 'to crack before
 hatching.'
 Twitch, 'couch-grass.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Achern
 Acherning
 Aitch, 'fit of suffering.'
 Batch.
 Bletch } 'black grease in wheels.'
 Blutch }
 Britchy, 'brittle.'
 Cleach, 'to clutch.'
 Diche (daitch), 'ditch.'
 Fatch, 'to fetch.'
 Flitchen, 'fitch of bacon.'
 Keech, 'cake of hard fat, wax,' etc.
 Pitcher, 'man who pitches hay.'

Pitching pikel.
 Pritch, 'staff with iron point.'
 Reechy, 'dirty and smoky.'
 Sitch, 'swamp, boggy place.'
 Sneach (obs.), 'to scorch, nip.'
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'
 Stiche, 'to set up sheaves,' etc.
 Thetch, sb. and vb., 'thatch.'
 Thetcher.
 Thetching-peg.
 Thrutch (and Thrush), 'to thrust.'
 Schrich, 'to scream.' Sal. Ant.
 Hartshorne, 1841.

Staffs., Poole, 1880.

Atchorn, 'acorn.'
 Bletch, 'grease of cart-wheels.'
 Thratcheled, 'draggled.'

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Batch-cake.
 Ditch, 'dirt grained into the hands.'
 Dratchell, dim. of 'drudge.'
 Fetchel, 'to tease.'
 Fitch, 'vetch.'
 Keach, 'choice or pick of anything.'
 Much.
 Pitchfork.
 Pleach, 'a hedge.'
 Sich, 'such.'
 Smatch, 'a taste,' etc.
 Smouch, 'kiss grossly.'
 Smutch = smudge, 'mud.'
 Snatch, 'hasty meal.'
 Swish, 'switch.'
 Twitch, 'couch-grass.'
 Queechy, 'sickly, ailing.'

Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.

Pitch, 'to load hay with a fork.'
 Squitch, 'couch-grass.'

E. Angl., Rye, 1895.

Bitch.
 Bleach, 'a drying-ground.'
 Clutch, 'brood of chickens.'
 Eachon, 'each one.'
 Fleaches, 'sawn portions of timber.'
 Hitch, 'to change place.'
 Hitchel
 (and Hickel) } 'a hemp-dresser's comb.'
 Hitchler
 (and Hickler) } 'a hemp-dresser.'
 Hatch (gate) (and Hack).

Pritch } 'a sharp-pointed iron
(and Prick) } instrument.'
Queach, 'plot of ground adjoining
arable land.'
Nall's Gloss., 1866, has this word = an
untilled plot full of quicks. See also
Moor's Suff. Gloss. below.

Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.

Clutch, 'a brood of chickens.'
Fatch, 'thatch.'
Scoutch }
Coutch } 'couch-grass.'
Scutch }

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson,
1884.*

Glutch, 'to swell with effort.'
Cow-leech, 'a vat.'
Meeching, 'melancholy.'
Prichell, 'to goad, prick.'
Scutch, 'couch-grass.'

W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

Pole-pitching, 'setting up poles in
rows in hop-yard.'
Squitch, 'couch-grass.'

S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Fatches, 'vetches.'
Fitcher, 'polecat.'
Fritch, 'conceited.'
Mouch, 'play about.'
Hotchel (and Hockle), 'to shuffle
along.'
Pitcher, 'one who throws up corn, etc.,
to the loader.'
Pitchfull, sb., 'the quantity of hay,
etc., that can be taken up with a
pitchfork.'
Putchen, 'eel-trap.'
Sich, 'such.'
Stretch.
Screech-owl, 'the swift.'

Warwesh., Northall., 1896.

Batch-cake.
Ditched, 'begrimed with dirt.'
Dratchell } 'a slattern.'
Drotchell }
Fatch, 'to fetch.'
Itching-berries, 'dog-rose berries.'

Mooch, 'to loiter about,' etc.
Much.
Potch, 'to thrust, push.'
Reechy, 'smoky.'
Retch, 'to stretch.'
Sich, 'such.'
Smatch, 'smack, flavour.'
Swatchell, 'fat, untidy female.'
Twitchel, 'for holding a horse.'
Wratch, 'wretch.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Etch }
Eche } 'to add to.'
(and Eke) }
Fleech, 'to wheedle, flatter.'
Hatchel, 'to rake hay into rows.'
Pritchel.
Queach, 'ground overgrown with
bushes,' etc.
Squeech, 'wet, boggy place.'
Twitch-grass.

Beds., Batchelor, 1809.

Eetch, 'eke' (Batchelor writes 'ityt').
Hitchuk, 'hiccough' ('hityuk').

Suff., Moor, 1823.

Clutch, 'covey of partridges.'
? Drouched, 'drenched.'
Fleeches, 'portions into which a piece
of timber is cut with a saw.' (Cf.
Fleak in other dials.)
Grutch, 'to grudge.'
Tweetch or 'squeech or spear-grass.'
Twitch
Queech } 'an untilled, rough, bushy
and }
Squeech } corner, or irregular portion
of a field.'
(Nares refers to Bacon, Essay 40, ubi
queaching).

Moor (under Perk) has a collection
of words showing interchange of -k,
-ch, but he does not say in which
dialects the forms occur. Among
others he has quick = queech. This
latter form is unknown to me except
in this dialect (see above) and
Northamptonshire, where it has
another meaning apparently, and in
Bacon's Essay, 39 (Of Custom and
Education), not 40 as Moor says.
(Nares is quite accurate as to Bacon.
He quotes also Todd's Johnson.)
Here the word means, apparently,

'squeaking.' "The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana without so much a queching." Johnson, 1st folio, 1755, quotes this passage, but writes 'quecking.'—H. C. W.

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Aichee } 'a hedge-sparrow.'
(and Akee) }
Beech.
Blatch, 'soot, dirt'; vb., 'to cover with black.'
Blatchy, 'black, dirty.'
Batcher, 'salmon trout.'
Briched, 'rich.'
Cleacher, 'layers of a hedge.'
Cooch grass.
Crutch 'tool used in thatching.'
Cratch
Fatch, 'Vicia sativa.'
to Fetch (p.p. fot).
Glutch, 'to swallow with difficulty.'
(Vale of Glos; Gluck in S. Glos.)
Keech, 'fat congealed after melting.'
Leech, 'cow doctor.'
Miche } 'play truant.'
Mooch }
Nitch, 'burden of hay.'
Pitcher.
Pitch, 'quantity taken at a time on a pitchfork.'
Pleach, 'to lay a hedge.'
Pritch, 'to prick.'
Pritchel, 'a goad.'
Putchin, 'eel-basket.'
Rooch, pret. of 'to reach.'
Screech, 'the swift.'
Snatch, 'a nasty flavour.'
Squitch, 'squash.'
Stitch.
Stretch, 'missel thrush.'
Swich, 'such.'
Tach, 'bad flavour.'
Twitch, 'to touch.'
Vatch, 'thatch.'
Vetch.
Vlitchen, 'flitch of bacon.'
Witchify, vb.
Wretch, 'to stretch.'

Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.

Begrutch, 'give unwillingly.'
Cutch, 'couch-grass' (at Garnton).
Fet, 'to fetch.'
Roacht, 'reached.'
Slouch, 'a sun-bonnet.'

Smatch. 'a flavour.'
Squitch-fire, 'made of couch-grass.'
Thetch, 'thatch.'

Berks., Lowsley, 1888.

Couch-grass.
Glutch, 'to swallow with effort.'
Hatch, 'gate.'
Hootcher, 'kind of crook, used to pull down branches when gathering fruit.'
Snatch and } 'a small piece.'
Snack }

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Batch of bread.
Beechen, 'made of beech.'
Bitch-fox.
Breach, 'land prepared for a seed-bed.'
Breeching = 'Buurcheen,' 'britchin.'
Couch = Kéoch.
Datches, 'vetches.'
Datch, 'thatch.'
Fuch, 'polecat.'
Fretchety, 'fidgety.'
Hawchy, 'make a noise in eating.'
Hitch, 'strike against an obstacle.'
Hutch, 'trap for fish.'
Hatch, 'a half-door.'
Keech, 'fat from intestines of slaughtered animals.'
Kitch, 'to congeal.'
Kitchen.
Match it, 'contrive.'
Meecher, 'a sneak.'
Much, adj.
Pitch, 'rod of alder, etc., planted to take root.'
Queechy, 'sickly.'
Quitch, 'to twitch.'
Quitch-grass.
Ratchy, 'stretch on waking.'
Scratch.
Screech.
Sich, 'such.'
Smeech, 'smoke, dust, smell.'
Smoacky, 'snore, speak through nose.'
Stitch, 'a shock or sloak of corn.'
Stretch, 'to cover something.'
Tatch, 'habit, gait.'
'Tlitch, 'to clutch.'
to Twitch, 'seize with sudden pain.'
Urch, 'rich.'
Vatches, 'vetches.'
Wichy, 'which.'
Witch-tree, 'witch-elm.'

Wexford, Poole—Barnes, 1867.

'Cham, 'I am.'
'Cha, 'I have' (etc.).
Ich, 'I.'

This is a most uncritical compilation, and contains obsolete words without any note to that effect.

Wilts, Dartnell and Goddard.

Blatch, etc. } adj., 'black, sooty'; sb.,
 } 'smut, soot'; vb., 'to
 } blacken,' N.W.

Bleachy, 'brackish,' Somers. border.
Cooch, 'couch-grass.'
Clitch, 'grain.'
Eel-stitcher.
Jitch, 'such,' N.W.
Moutch, vb., 'shuffle.'
Moucher, 'truant.'
Much.

Nitch, 'block of wood.'
Ichila-pea, 'missel thrush' (only heard
from one person)?

Hitchland } 'land tilled every year.'
(Horkland) }
Hatch, 'a half-door, line of raked hay.'
Screech, vb.
Smeech, 'dust,' N.W.
Sploach, 'to splutter,' S.W.
Stutch, 'crutch, a stilt' (obs.).
Thatches } 'vetches,' N.W.
Thetches }
Witch-hazel.
Stritch } 'a corn-striker.'
(and Strickle) }

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Hatch, 'to dress bark for the tanner.'
Stoach, 'to trample into holes.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Cooch-grass.
Eche, sb. and vb., 'to eke, an addition.'
Foldpitcher, 'implement for making
holes in ground.'
Hatch, 'a gate in the road.'
Hotch, 'to move awkwardly.'
Hutch, 'upper part of waggon.'
Itch, 'to creep, be anxious.'
Letch, 'vessel used for holding ashes
in making lye.'
Meach, 'creep softly about.'
Much, 'to fondle.'
Mooch, 'to dandle.'
Notch, 'to count.'

Prichel, 'implement for making holes
in ground.'
Putch, 'puddle of water.'
Reach, 'a creek.'
Scutchel, 'rubbish.'
Strooch, 'to drag the feet in walking.'
Swatch, 'a wand.'

W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.

Breachy water, 'brackish water.'
Smeech } 'smell of smoke from any-
Smitch } thing burnt in frying.'
Squitch, 'to twitch, jerk.'
Veach } 'whitlow.'
(and Veak) }
(Scrootch, 'a crutch.' Garland, W.
Corn., Journ. of Roy. Inst. of Corn.,
1864.)
'Chell.
'Cham (Melles MS.), Monthly Mag.,
January, 1809.

E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.

Datch, 'thatch.'
Miche, 'to play truant.'

Devon, Hewatt, 1892.

Fitch, 'a stoat.'
Kootch, 'couch-grass.'
Kitches, 'roll of offal fat.'
Leechway, 'graveyard path.'
to Pritch = purch, 'to prick holes in'
(Exmoor, Scolding, 1778).
Smeech, 'smoke and dust.'
ich, 'I,' in charo } 'I have,' etc.
 chell } (Exm.)
 cham }

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Blatch, 'soot, black stuff.'
Cooch-grass.
Keech, 'to cut grass, etc., below water.'
hatch, 'to stretch.'
Slatch, 'to slake, of lime and water.'
Smatch, 'smack, taste.'
Smeech, 'cloud of dust.'
Streech, 'space taken in stone-striking
of the rake.'

Hants, Cope, 1883.

Beech mast.
Blatch, 'black, sooty.'
(Black also exists, in compounds.)

Black-bob, 'cock-roach.'
 Brachy, 'brackish.'
 Fotch, 'to fetch.'
 Glutch } 1. 'to stifle a sob.'
 } 2. 'to swallow.'
 Hatch, 'half-door, gate.'
 Hatch-hook, 'a bill-hook.'
 Mith, 'shirk work.'
 Screech, 'bull-thrush' (not in N.
 Hants).
 Smatch, 'bad taste, smack.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Clutch, 'to cluck.'
 Hetch, 'hook.'
 Pitchun-prog.
 Screech-owl, 'swift.'
 ? Reaches, 'ridges of a field' ?
 Stretch, 'a strike for corn.'
 Thetch.
 Zich, 'such.'

I. of W., Long, 1886.

Pritchel, 'a small hedge stake.'
 Sletch, 'to slake lime.'
 Glutch, 'to swallow.'

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

a Beach.
 Batch.
 Brachy, 'brackish.'
 Clitch, 'a cluster.'
 Clutch, adv., 'tightly' ('hold it,
 clutch').
 Clutch, 'a brood of chickens.'
 Cooch-grass.
 Fitches, 'vetches.'
 Hatch, 'a gate' (in place-names, Plaw-
 hatch, etc.).
 Haitch, 'a passing shower.'
 Pitcher, 'man who throws corn up on
 to a cart.'
 Smeech } 'dirty, black smoke or
 Smutch } vapour.'
 Ratch, 'to reach.'

IV.

Non-initial *nch, lch, rch.*

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.

Dench } 'squeamish, dainty (rare).'
 (or Denk) }
 Donch, 'fastidious.'
 Danch, 'to knock against.'
 Flinch, 'a pinch.'
 Munch.
 Pinch, 'iron crowbar.'
 Scunch, 'aperture in a wall for window-
 frame.'
 Winch, 'to start or wince.'
 Belch.
 Stitching, 'narrow-minded, mean.'
 Wairch } 'insipid.'
 Wairsh }

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Bunch.
 Binsh, 'bench.'
 Clunch, 'stupid person.'
 Dunch, 'butt with the elbow.'
 Runch, 'a hardy, thick-set person.'

Durham, Palgrave, 1896.

Skinch = 'I'm not playing,' said in
 games.

Whitby (N.E. Yorks.), Robinson, 1876.

Squench, 'to quench.'

*Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright,
 1881.*

The transcription is Prof. Wright's.

Drenš, 'drench.'

Mid Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Clinch, 'to clutch.'
 Densch, 'fastidious.'
 (H)anch, 'to snatch.'

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easther, 1881.

Melsh, 'moist.'
Churchmaster, 'churchwarden.'

Sheffield, S. W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Lurch, 'to lurk, lie in wait.'
Warsch } sb., 'pain.'
Worch }
Melch-cow.
Squench, 'quench.'

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.

Clunch, 'a clodhopper.'
Cranch, 'to grind with the teeth.'
Hanch, 'to snap at.'
Kench, 'to sprain.'
Golch, 'to swallow ravenously.'
Halch, 'a noose.'
Kelch (Ormskirk), 'a sprain.'
Melch, 'moist, warm.'
Solch } 'noise made by treading in
Solsh } damp ground.'
Lurcher, sb.
Perch, 'pole.'
Snurch, 'to snort, snigger in a
smothered way.'
Warch, 'to ache.'
Tooth-warche.
Worch, 'to work.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Clench.
Cluncheon, 'a cudgel.'
Kench, 'a kink.'
Scrinch, 'small pieces or quantity.'
Wench, 'girl.'
by Hulsh or by Stulch, 'by hook or by
crook.'
Easy-melched, of a cow that yields
milk easily.
Swelch, 'a heavy fall.'
Lurch, 'to lurk.'
Warcher, 'term of contempt for an
insignificant person.'
Warch, 'an ache or pain.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Spelch, 'to bruise beans in a mill' (obs.).
Melch, 'soft, of weather.'

N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Binch, 'a bench.'
Blench, 'to change colour.'

Bunch, 'bundle, also to kick savagely.'
Cranch, 'crunch.'
Drench-horn, 'drink-horn.'
Lansh, 'to lance, cut into.'
Linch, 'balk-in a field' (obs.).
Lunch } 'large slice of bread.'
Luncheon }
Rench, 'to rinse.'
Skinch, 'to stint.'
Wench, 'a winch, a girl.'
Belch, 'obscene talk.'
Kelch } 'a blow.'
(and Kelk) }
Squelch, 'to crush.'
Stairch, 'starch.'

S. W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.

Binch, 'bench.'
Skinch, 'to stint.'
Kelch, 'a thump.'
Melch, 'soft, warm.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Drench, 'a draught for cattle.'
Dunched, 'knocked, bruised.'
Red-finch, 'chaffinch.'
Kench, 'a twist, sprain.'
Wench, 'girl.'
Melch, 'soft.'
Melch-cow.
Stelch, 'stealth.'
Warch, 'to throb.'
Warehing, adj.

Staffs., Poole, 1880.

Blench, 'to betray, impeach.'
Kench, 'to sprain.'
Munching, 'idling or loafing about.'

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Bunch, 'to make anything.'
Bull-finch.
Clinch } 'clench.'
(and Cling) }
balchin, 'unfledged bird.'
Dunch, 'suet dumpling.'
Hunch, 'lump of bread,' etc.
Kench, 'to bank.'
Nuncheon.
Squench.

Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.

Hunch, 'a lump.'
Stench-pipes, 'ventilation shafts.'

Squench, 'to quench.'
 Belching.
 Spelch, 'to splinter.'
 Chorch, 'church.'

E. Anglia, Rye, 1895.

Canch } 'a trench; a turn at a job;
 } small quantity of corn put
 } aside.'
 Church.
 Crinchlings } 'small apples.'
 (and Cringelings) }
 Kinch 'that part of the haystack
 Kench which is being cut down.'
 Skinch, 'to stint, pinch.'
Nall, E. Angl. Dialect, 1866, has
 Stinch, 'to stink.'
 Church.

Norfolk, Havergal, 1887.

Kinchin, 'a little child.'
 Lunchy, 'stiff.'

*Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson,
 1884.*

Squench, 'quench.'
 Melch-hearted, 'milk-hearted.'
 Stilch } 'post to which cows are tied'
 ('variant stalk skat'). Also
 Stelch } *W. Worcs., Chamberlain,*
 } 1882.

S. E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Bunch.
 Dunch, 'give a blow with elbow.'
 Nunch }
 Nunchin } 'luncheon.'
 Squench.
 Wench, 'girl.'
 Bolchin, 'unfledged bird.'

Warwesh., North., 1896.

Blench, 'a glimpse.'
 Drench (or Drink), 'draught for
 cattle.'
 Drenching-horn.
 Dunch, 'a blow.'
 Kench, 'to twist or wrench' = kink.
 Munch, 'to ill-treat.'
 Sevinch, 'a little morsel.'
 Baulch, 'to fall heavily.'
 Spelch, 'a small splinter.' Cf. 'spelk,'
 Northumb., Yorks., etc.

Stelch, 'layer or row of anything
 above the other parts; as much as
 a man can thatch without moving
 his ladder.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Bench, a quarry term = a shelf of
 rock.
 Canch } 'division.'
 Kench }
 Hunch of bread and cheese.
 Stelch, 'as much as a man can thatch
 without moving ladder.'

Suff., Moor, 1823.

Crunsh } 'to squeeze.'
 Skrunsh }
 Drench, 'drink for a sick horse.'
 Kench, 'a turn (of work),' etc.
 Squench, 'quench.'
 Milch-cow.

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Clinching-net.
 Crinch, 'a small bit.'
 a Crunch of bread and cheese.'
 Dinchfork, 'a dung-fork.'
 Drench, 'a bad cold.'
 Drunch, 'drench.'
 Dunch, 'a poke or thrust.'
 Inch.
 Kinch, 'fry of young fish.'
 Linch, 'narrow steep bank usually
 covered with grass.'
 Vinch, 'a finch,' H. of Berkley.
 Gulch, 'to gulp down.'
 Stelch, 'still,' H. of B.
 Stilch, 'upright post for fastening
 cows,' V. of Glos. (uncommon).
 Stulch, 'series of helms for thatching'
 (Cotswolds).
 Starch, 'heron, stroud.'

Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.

Scrinch, 'a very small piece. Cf.
 Crinks, e.g. in Glos., etc.
 Scrunch, 'to bite quickly.'
 Squinch, 'to quench.'

Berks., Lowsley, 1888.

Lynches, green banks, or divisions
 between 'lands.'
 Squench, 'quench.'

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Blanch, 'head back a deer from its course.'
 Bunch, 'spot, mark.'
 Dinsh, 'stupid.'
 Drunch, 'a dose of medicine for horse, etc.'
 Horch, 'gore with the horns.'
 Linch, 'ledge in wall or bank.'
 Nunch } 'food between meals.'
 Nunchin }
 Wench, 'girl.'
 Scrunch, 'to crush.'
 Birchen, adj.
 Vulch, 'shove, nudge.'

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Linch, 'ledge of ground on the side of a hill' (=link).

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.

Densher, 'to prepare down land for cultivation.'
 Dunch, 'deaf' (rare now).
 Hanch, 'to thrust with the horns' (of cow, etc.).
 Hunch about, 'push or shove.'
 Kintch, 'burden of wood, straw, or hay.'
 Linch
 Linchet }
 Lanchet } 'a bank.'
 Linchard }

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Bunch, 'a swelling.'
 Densher, 'to skim turf off, burn a field.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Chinch, to 'point' buildings.
 Dencher-pont, 'a pile of stubble, etc., for burning.'
 Linch, 'little strip of boundary land.'
 Scrunch.
 Culch, 'rags, bits of thread,' etc.
 Pilch, 'child's garment.'
 Milch-hearted.
 Sculch, 'rubbish, trash.'

E. Corn., Couch, 1880.

Blinsh, 'to catch a glimpse of.'

Hants., Cope, 1883.

Dunch, 'stupid.'
 Scrunch, 'to bite in pieces.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Squench, 'to quench.'

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Bench, 'widow's portion.'
 Bench, 'a swelling.'
 Densher plough, 'instrument for turf-cutting.'
 Dunch, 'deaf, dull.'
 Squench, 'to quench.'

V.

Non-initial -g.

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.

Blig, 'blackguard.'
 Bog-stucker, 'goblin.'
 Brig.
 Bull-seg, 'imperfectly castrated ox.'
 Cag-mag, 'bad food.'
 Cheg
 Cheggle } 'to chew, champ.'
 Cleg, 'gad-fly.'
 Clag, 'to stick, make adhere.'

Clog, 'log of wood.'
 Duggar (barley-), 'kind of cake.'
 Dag, 'to rain, drizzle.'
 Drag.
 Fag, 'loach' (fish).
 Fleg, 'to be furnished with feathers.'
 Flag, 'a turf for fuel.'
 Fligged.
 Flog, 'work with hammer and chisel.'
 Fog, 'aftermath.'

Gleg, 'quick, smart.'
 Hag-berry, 'fruit of bird-cherry.'
 Heg.
 Hag, 'division of timber to be cut down.'
 Hag, 'the belly.'
 Hag, 'to wane.'
 Heg, 'to rue, repent.'
 Hug, 'to carry with effort.'
 Hog-reek, 'light, fleecy mist.'
 Laggin, 'projecting staves at bottom of cask.'
 Lig-abad, 'sluggard.'
 Lig-ma last, 'loiterer.'
 Lug, 'a lug-worm.'
 Nag, 'a sour taste.'
 Nag, 'to worry.'
 Preg, 'to cheapen, in bargaining.'
 Prog, 'to prick.'
 Rag, vb.
 Rig, 'ridge'; 173 place-names in -rig in Northumb.
 Riggin, 'clothing.'
 Riggin of a house.
 Roggle, 'shake, jumble.'
 Rug, 'tug, pull.'
 Seg, 'sedge.'
 Slag, 'thin bed of coal, mixed with lime, etc.'
 Slair, 'soft, wet.'
 Slog, 'strike with great force.'
 Slughorne
 and Slogan
 Smairg, 'to smear.'
 Snag, 'to hew roughly.'
 Spag } 'sparrow.'
 Sprug }
 Stag, 'young male animal.'
 Steg, 'gander.'
 Swiggy, 'a swing.'
 Tig, 'sharp blow.'
 Tug, 'to rot, destroy.'
 Ug, 'feeling of nausea.'
 Wag.
 Whig, 'preparation of whey.'
 Wig, 'a tea-cake.'

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Bag.
 Bog.
 Big, 'to build.'
 Brag, 'twig or straw worn in hat.'
 Brig, 'bridge.'
 Cheg, 'to chew.'
 Dag } 'to ooze, flow slowly.'
 Deg }
 Daggy, 'wet, musty weather.'
 Eg on.

Fag-end.
 Fog, 'aftermath.'
 Gleg?
 Greg?
 Hog, 'weaned lamb.'
 Laggan, 'end of stave outside cask.'
 Lig, 'to lie.'
 Ligg, 'loach' (fish).
 Liggan upon, 'urgent, keen upon.'
 Lug, 'ear.'
 to Pig in.
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Riggelt, 'animal with testicle in the loins.'
 Rug, 'to pull rudely.'
 Seg, 'a corn on hand or foot.'
 Seag, 'sedge.'
 Snig, 'to drag timber.'
 Steg, 'gander.'
 Swagt, 'bent downwards in centre.'
 Cleg, 'kind of fly.'
 Clag, 'to stick to.'
 Claggy, 'sticky.'

Durham, Palgrave, 1896.

Riggy, 'ridgey.'
 Sag, 'to bend down in the middle.'
 Waggon.

Swaledale (N. Yrks.), Harland, 1873.

Brig.
 Clag, 'to cling.'
 Claggy.
 Lig, 'to lie down.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Riggin-tree.
 Steg, 'gander.'

Whitby, N.E. Yrks., Robinson, 1876.

Brig.
 Brog, 'to bump,' as cattle do with the horns.'
 Claggy, 'sticky, like pitch.'
 Dag } 'to sprinkle.'
 Deg }
 Egg on.
 Fleag'd, 'infested with fleas.'
 Flig, 'to fly.'
 Fligg'd, 'fledged.'
 Lig, 'to lie, lay.'
 Lug, 'ear.'
 Mawg, 'a whim.'
 Mig, 'liquid manure.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Segge, 'sedges.'
 Steg, 'a gander.'

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright, 1892.

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Brig.
 Deg, 'to sprinkle with water.'
 Dreæg, 'drawl.'
 Dreg, 'drag.'
 Eg, 'egg on.'
 Eg, 'egg.'
 Eag, 'a haw.'
 Flig, 'fledge.'
 Flog.
 Fog, 'aftergrass.'
 Frig, 'coire.'
 Ig, 'mood, temper.'
 Lig, 'lie down.'
 Mig, 'midge.'
 Neæg, 'gnaw.'
 Prog, 'collect firewood.'
 Rig, 'back.'
 Rigin, 'ridge of a house.'
 Snig, 'take hastily.'
 Seæg, 'a saw.'
 Seg, 'sedge.'
 Twig, sb.
 Ug, 'to carry.'
 Weg, 'wag.'

Mid Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Ag, 'to complain.'
 Brig.
 Brog, of cattle, 'to browse about.'
 Bullseg, 'castrated bull.'
 Clag, 'to adhere.'
 Dag, 'to sprinkle linen,' etc.
 Egg, 'to incite.'
 Flig, 'to fledge.'
 Fligged.
 (H)ig, 'state of petulance.'
 Lig, 'to lie, to lay.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Sag, 'to bulge with own weight.'
 Scag, 'squirrel.'
 Seg, 'sedge.'
 Sug, 'a sow.'

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easter, 1881.

Brig.
 Deg, 'to wet.'
 Fligged
 Flegged
 Hig, 'a huff or quarrel.'
 Lig { 1. 'to lie down.'
 { 2. 'to tell lies.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Sag, 'a saw.'

Slug, 'to beat.'
 Snig, 'to snatch.' (Perhaps related to 'sneak, snack,' etc., with voicing of final *k*.)
 Twags, 'twigs.'
 Craig or } 'crawl of a bird.'
 Craigh }
 Gnaghe } 'to gnaw.'
 Gnaigh }
 Haigh, 'the haw.'
 (There is nothing to show whether -*gh* here = the back stop, but it seems probable.)

Thoresby to Ray, 1703.

Rig, 'tree.'

Ray's North Country Words, 1691.

Dag, 'dew on the grass.'
 Feg, 'fair, clean.'
 Fliggens, 'young birds that can fly.'

Marshalls, E. Yorks., 1788.

Lig }
 Flig } but Midge, 'small gnat.'
 Rig }

N. of England, J.H., 1781.

Chig, 'to chew.'

Sheffield, S.W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Brig.
 Bugth, 'bulk, size.'
 to Egg on.
 Flig, 'to flag.'
 Fligged, 'fledged.'
 Gnaggle, 'to gnaw.'
 Grig, 'cricket.'
 Haighs, 'hips and haws.'
 Hig, 'huff, fit of temper.'
 Huggins, 'hip-bones of a cow.'
 Keg, 'belly.'
 Lig, 'to lie down.'
 Nog, 'an unshaped bit of wood.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Saig, 'to saw.'
 Seg, 'castrated bull, etc.'
 Snag, 'to snarl.'
 Slog { 'to beat.'
 Slug }
 Sog, 'to sow.'
 Sprig, 'a copse.'
 Swag }
 (and Sway) } 'to hang down.'
 Whigged, of milk, 'curdled.'

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1876.

Agg, 'to tease, worry.'
 Biggin, 'building.'
 Big, 'a teat.'
 Bigg, 'barley.'
 Bigg, 'to build.'
 Boggart, 'ghost.'
 Boggle, 'a blunder.'
 Braggart, 'new ale spiced with sugar.'
 Brig (N. and Mid. L.), 'bridge.'
 Brog, 'branch, bough.'
 Clag, 'to adhere.'
 Clog, shoe with wooden sole.'
 Cleg, 'gadfly.'
 Dag, 'to shear sheep.'
 Dag, sb. and vb., 'dew.'
 Deg, 'to sprinkle with water.'
 Egg, 'urge, incite.'
 Feeäg (Furness), 'flatterer.'
 Feggur, 'fairer' ('Bamford's Gloss.; 1854, obs.?).
 Flay } 'to frighten.'
 Fley }
 Fog, 'aftermath.'
 Grig, 'a cricket.'
 Grug (Fylde), 'a dandelion.'
 Hag, N. L., 'an enclosure.'
 Hag
 Haggus } 'belly.'
 Hague }
 Haig } 'hawthorn.'
 Hig, 'passion' (Bamford, 1854).
 Hog, 'to cover a heap with earth or straw' (Parson Walker, 1730).
 Huggus hips (Scholes, 1857).
 Lags } 'staves of a tub.'
 Laggins }
 Lig, 'to lie.'
 Lug, 'ear.'
 Nag, 'to scold.'
 Noagur, 'anger'?
 Pig.
 Plog, 'to plug, close.'
 Riggin, 'ridge of house.'
 Rog, 'to shake with a rattling din.'
 Scog, 'to dispute.'
 Skug (Oldham), 'dirt.'
 Slags, sloe, cf. Slaigh, Westm. (Britten's Engl. Plant Names).
 Snig, 'eel.'
 Snig, 'to snatch.'
 Stegg, 'gander.'
 Tig, 'to touch.'
 Trig, 'to evade.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Bug, 'to go.'
 Buggy, 'a louse.'

Cag-mag, 'carrion.'
 Dag, 'to get petticoats or ends of trousers wet.'
 Daggly, 'dewy.'
 Clag, 'snow in a hard mass in the boots.'
 Earwig.
 to Egg on.
 Egg, 'ovum.'
 Egg, 'eager for.'
 Feg, 'coarse grass.'
 Fliggy, 'hay, etc., tangled through wind and rain.'
 Fog.
 Frig, 'coire.'
 Gleg, 'to look furtively.'
 Frog, Griggy, 'rotten' (of grass).
 (H)ag, 'a task.'
 (H)og, 'heap of potatoes covered up with straw and soil.'
 Up-kegged, 'upset.'
 Lag, 'upright plank in a tub.'
 Lig, sb. and vb., 'fib.'
 Lig own, 'very own.'
 Lug, 'to pull.'
 Moggin, 'to clog.'
 Mog, 'to go' (commoner form Modge).
 Miggie, 'to trot slowly.'
 Nog, 'piece of wood built into brick wall.'
 Peg.
 Plug, 'to pluck the hair.'
 Prog, 'to pilfer.'
 Seg, 'to castrate a full-grown animal.'
 Seg, 'hard piece of skin inside hand.'
 Slug.
 Snag, 'a snap, a bite.'
 Snig, 'eel.'
 Sog, 'to sway up and down.'
 Spriggs, 'small nails.'
 Swag, 'force or impetus of a descending body.'
 Swig, 'spiced ale and toast.'
 Throg, 'a thrush' (used by boys chiefly).
 Trig, 'to trot.'
 Whigged, 'curdled.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Brig.
 Daggled, 'draggled.'
 Fligged, 'fledged.'
 Grig: in 'merry as a grig.'
 (H)aigs, 'haws' (Peak district).
 (H)ig 'heat, passion.'
 (H)uggon, 'hip of a man.'
 Lig, 'to lie.'
 Lug, 'to pull.'

Riggins of a house.
Rig, 'ridge.'
Seg, 'gelded bull.'
Sig, 'old urine.'
Tag, 'sheep of first year.'

N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Bag, 'udder, womb, etc., of animals.'
Big, 'strong.'
Brig, 'bridge.'
Brog, 'to push with a pointed instrument.'
Bug, 'proud, officious.'
Cleg, 'gadfly.'
Drag, 'kind of harrow,' cf. Dredge.
Fligd, 'fledged.'
Gleg { 1. 'a glance.'
2. 'shy.'
Hag, 'a bog.'
Hug, 'to cut, chop awkwardly.'
Hig: to put someone in a Hig = 'to offend him.'
Higgler, 'pedlar.'
Hog, 'an unshorn lamb, castrated pig.'
Keg-meg, 'bad food.'
Lag, 'to tire.'
Lig, 'to lie, lay.'
Lig-abad, 'sluggard.'
Lug, 'the ear.'
Maggot, 'whim.'
Meggie, 'moth.'
Mog, 'to move on.'
Muggy, 'damp, close.'
Nag, 'to gnaw.'
Niggle, 'to hack, notch.'
Riggin, 'ridge of a building.'
Rig, 'ridge.'
Sag, 'bend, warp.'
Seg, 'boar castrated when full-grown.'
Seg, 'sedge.'
Shig, 'to shirk.'
Steg, 'a gander.'
Sugg, 'to deceive.'
Twig, 'understand.'
Swig, 'to drink.'
Wag, 'to beckon.'

S. W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.

Brig, 'bridge.'
Clag, 'to daub with sticky clay.'
Drag, 'to harrow land.'
Drug, 'waggon for carrying timber.'
Fligged, 'fledged.'
Gnag { 'to gnaw.'
Knag {
Hag, 'marshy place.'
Hag, 'cut, hew.'

Higs, 'to be in one's higs.'
Lig, 'to lie.'
Pog, 'to carry on one's back.'
Seg, 'castrated boar.'
Whig, 'buttermilk.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Agg }
Eag } 'to urge, incite.'
Eeg }
Dag, 'to sprinkle clothes with water.'
Drag, 'a bar used for drawing timber.'
Fliggy, of birds whose down is changing to feathers.
Lig, 'to tell lies.'
Ligger, 'liar.'
Seg, 'any kind of iris.'
Seg-bottomed, 'rush-bottomed.'
Smeg, 'a bit.'
Sniggle, 'an eel.'
Stag, 'young turkey-cock.'
Swig, 'a drink' (especially spiced ale).
Whig, 'wehy.'
Whigged, 'curdled.'

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Aigle }
Iggle } 'icicle.'
Cag, 'to crawl about.'
Back and egg = 'edge with might and main.'
Brag, 'a boast.'
Brig and
Bridge.
Claggy.
Dag, 'trail in dirt.'
Flegged } 'fledged.'
Flig }
Fog, 'coarse, rank grass.'
Gnag, 'gnaw.'
Hog, 'yearling sheep.'
Lag, 'crack, split.'
Lig, 'to lie' (jacere and mentire).
Maggot, 'whim.'
Piggle.
Riggle, 'small surface drain.'
Rig, 'ridge.'
Sagg, 'to sway, bend with weight.'
Segg, 'bull castrated before maturity.'
Segg, 'sedge, etc.'
Smg, 'little eel.'
Snags, 'shams.'
Sog, 'mass of earth.'
Swiggle, 'to drink freely.'
Teg, 'a lamb, from first Michaelmas after birth.'

Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.

Brig.
 Drugs, 'a timber waggon.'
 Hag, 'stiff clump of coarse grass.'
 Haghog, 'hedghog.'
 Higgler.
 Rig.
 Rug, 'tree.'

E. Angl., Rye, 1895.

Arriwiggler, 'earwig.'
 Bigg, kind of barley.
 Brig, 'a bridge.'
 Claggy, 'clogged with moisture.'
 Crag, 'the craw or crop.'
 Dag, 'dew.'
 Drug, 'strong cart for timber.'
 Flegged } 'fledged.'
 Fligged }
 Higgler, 'to chaffer.'
 Lig, 'to lie' (jacere).
 Rig, 'ridge in a field.'
 Sagging, 'soughing of wind in reeds.'
 Scug, 'squirrel.'
 Seg, 'sedge.'
 Seggen, 'made of sedges.'
 Slug-horn, 'short, stunted horn of an animal.'
 Snag, 'rough knob of a tree.'

Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.

Segs, 'rushes.'

Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson, 1884.

Driggle, 'small-meshed draw-net.'
 Fag, 'fog-grass.'
 Rig, 'to sprain' (of back).
 Sag, 'sedge.'
 Sag-seated chair.
 Swag, 'to sway, balance.'

W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

Dag, 'to draggle.'
 Swig, 'to sway.'

S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Bag, 'cut wheat with a hook.'
 Dag, 'to draggle in the mud.'
 Drag }
 (and Dray) } 'harrow.'
 Lug, 'to pull.'
 Mag, 'a scold.'
 Nag, 'to scold incessantly.'

Pug, 'to pull.'
 Sags, 'rushes for chair-making.'
 Sag-bottomed chairs.
 Scog, 'to scold.'
 Snuggle, 'lie close.'
 Swag of a line or beam, 'to sag.'
 Swig, 'to drink.'
 Tag, 'game of touch.'
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'

Warwesh., Northall, 1896.

Agg } 'to egg on.'
 Egg }
 Dag, 'dew.'
 Fligged, 'fledged.'
 Fog, 'rough grass.'
 Geg, 'to swing.'
 Hag, 'to cut' (woodman's term).
 Higgler.
 Lagger, 'litter, mess.'
 Lig, 'to tell a lie.'
 Seg, 'sedge.'
 Lugs, 'slender rods to fasten thatch down.'
 Piggler.
 Skag, 'to tear or split.'
 Slug, 'to throw stones, etc.'
 Snug, 'a pig.'
 Spug, 'sparrow.'
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'
 Trig, 'a narrow path.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1864.

Brig.
 Dag, 'to bemire, soak with dirt.'
 Fligged, 'fledged.'
 Fligger, 'to flutter.'
 Fliggers, 'young birds ready to fly.'
 Lig, 'a lie.'
 Ligger, 'a liar.'
 Rig, 'ridge.'
 Segs, 'sedges.'
 Seggy, adj.
 Sprig, 'rose of watering-can.'
 Whig, 'whey.'

Beds., Batchelor, 1807.

Brig.
 to Egg on.
 Flig, 'fledged.'
 Lig, 'an untruth.' (Batchelor calls this word 'old-fashioned,' so it was probably obsolescent in Beds. in 1809.)

Suff., Moor, 1823.

Seg } 'sedge.'
 Segs }
 Swig } said of a leak in a tap,
 (and Swidge) } 'all of a swig.'

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Cag-mag, 'bad meat.'
 Deg, 'to dig.'
 Egg.
 Fog, 'grass growing on boggy ground.'
 Frog.
 Guggle, 'small snail.'
 ?Layger, 'narrow strip of land or
 copse.'
 †Lug, 'piece of land.'
 Moggy, 'a calf.'
 Nag, 'to worry.'
 Niggle, 'to tease.'
 Niggut, 'small faggot.'
 Sag-seated chair, V. of Glos.
 Sags }
 Segs } 'sedges.'
 Zega }
 Seg } 'urine.'
 Sig }
 Scaggy, 'shaggy,' V. of Glos.; H. of
 Berkley.
 Snag, 'tooth standing alone.'
 Stag, 'young ox.'
 Swag }
 Swaggle } 'to sway.'
 Teg }
 Tig } 'one-year-old sheep.'
 to Trig, 'to wedge up.'
 Wag, 'to move.'

Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.

Daggle, 'to trail in the mud.'
 Fligged, 'fledged.'
 Guggle, 'a snail's shell.'
 (H)aggle, 'to harass one's self with
 work.'
 Ligster, 'a lie, a liar.'
 Maggled, 'tired out' (Blackburn).
 Waggn, 'waggon.'

Berks., Lowsoley, 1888.

Haggas, 'fruit of hawthorn.'

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Ag, 'to scold, provoke.'
 Bag, measure of weight.
 Big, 'bumptious.'

Cloggy, 'thick, sticky.'
 Dag (to set a dag = to have somebody).
 Drug, 'to drag.'
 Dugged, 'dugged.'
 Egg (ag) of a bird.
 Fog-grass.
 Higgler, 'poultry-dealer.'
 Hag, 'old woman.'
 Lic-abad, 'sluggard.'
 Mugget, 'outer stomach of calf.'
 Nag, 'log, block.'
 Nug, 'rough mass of any substance.'
 Pig.
 Poy, 'to poke, thrust.'
 Rag, 'to scold.'
 Rig, 'lark, joke, wanton woman.'
 Sig, 'urine.'
 Slug.
 Snug.
 Swig, 'drink hastily.'
 Scrag, 'neck.'
 Teg, 'yearling sheep.'
 Trig, 'neat, tidy.'
 Ugly.
 Zog, 'a bog, morass.'

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Cag-mag, 'bad meat.'
 Cag, 'to surfeit.'

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.

Agg, vb., 'hack.'
 Agalds, 'hawthorn-berries.' (In
 Devon, Aggles.)
 Bag, 'bent pens with a hook.'
 Barley-big.
 Daggled.
 Diggled.
 Flag, 'blade of wheat.'
 Eggs, 'haws.'
 Drug: to drag timber.
 Drag, 'a harrow.'
 Freglam, 'odds and ends of food
 fried up.'
 Nog?
 Muggle, 'muddle.'
 Maggots, 'tricks.'
 Lug, 'hole or perch.'
 Jag, 'beard of oats.'
 Hagggle, 'cut clumsily.'
 Feggy, 'fair,' obs., N.W.
 Pig.
 Quag, 'a shake, trembling,' S.W.
 Rig, 'half-gelded horse.'
 Rig, vb., 'climb on, bestride anything.'
 Seg } 'urine,' S.W.
 Sig }

Skug, 'squirrel.'
 Smug.
 Snag, N.W., 'decayed tooth': S.W.,
 'a shoe.'
 Snig, 'small eel,' S.W.
 Sniggle, S.W.
 Soz, 'boggy ground.'
 Teg-man, 'shepherd,' S.W.
 Tig, 'little pig,' N.W. occasionally.
 Trig, 'fasten, make firm' N.W.; adj.,
 'in good health,' S.W.
 Vag, 'to reap with broad hook.'
 Wag.
 Waggon.

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Sag, 'to bend.'
 Teg, 'a year-old sheep.'
 Trug, 'gardener's wooden basket.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Bag, 'to cut with hook.'
 Dag on sheep.
 Draggle-tailed.
 Flig, 'strands of grass.'
 Fog, 'aftermath.'
 Heg, 'hag, fairy.'
 Higgler.
 Hog.
 Keg-meg, 'a gossip.'
 Lug-worm.
 Maggoty, 'whimsical.'
 Megpy.
 Pig.
 Plog, 'block of wood at end of halter.'
 Pug, 'soft ground.'
 Rig ?
 Sag, 'to sink, bend.'
 Sig, 'urine.'
 Smug, 'to steal.'
 Tag, 'a yearly sheep.'
 Wig, 'to overreach, cheat.'

W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.

Clig, 'to cling to.'
 Cligged together.
 Drug, 'a drag for a wheel.'
 Trug, 'trudge.'
 Azlet, 'berry of hawthorn.' *Garland,*
W. Corn. Journ. of Roy. Inst. of
Corn., 1864. (Perhaps French.)

E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.

Dogberry, 'wild gooseberry.'
 Drug, 'to drag.'
 Sneg, 'small snail.'
 (Eglet, fruit of whitethorn. *Couch,*
Journal of Roy. Inst. of Corn., 1864.)

Hants, Cope, 1883.

Doglets, 'icicles.'
 Hag, 'haw' (the berry).
 Haggils, 'haws of whitethorn.'
 Leg, 'long narrow meadow (= 'leah'?).
 Strig, 'stalk of a plant.'
 Swig, 'to suck.'
 Scug, 'squirrel.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Igg, 'egg.'
 Drug shoe, 'drag for a cart.'

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Bug, 'any winged insect.'
 Drugged, 'half-dried.'
 Egg, 'to incite.'
 Grig, 'merry, happy.'
 Lug }
 Leg } 'long, narrow marshy meadow.'
 Sag, 'to hang down.'
 Snug, 'a snail.'

VI.

Words in *-dge*.

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.

Cadgy, 'hearty, cheerful,' especially after food; cf. cag-mag, cf. also kedje.

Dredge.

Edge, sb.

Fadge, 'small loaf of bread.'

Fadge, 'bundle of sticks.'

Fledger, 'a fledgeling.'

Kedje, 'to fill oneself with meat.'

Kidgel, 'cudgel.'

Midgy, 'midge.'

Midge-grass.

Mudge, 'stir, shift.'

Radgy, 'lewd, wanton.'

Rudge, 'push about.'

Sludge, 'soft, wet mud.'

Smudge, 'to laugh quietly.'

Snudge } 'a fillet or ribbon worn

(and Snood) } by girls.'

Spadger and Spag, 'a sparrow.'

Wadge, 'slice of bread, wedge.'

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1889.

Badger.

Edge.

Fadge, 'a slow trot.'

Frudge, 'to brush roughly past.'

Hedge.

Knidgel, 'to castrate by ligature.'

Marshall, E. Yorks., 1788.

Fridge, 'to chafe.'

Midge, but, lig, flig, rig.

Swaledale (N.E. Yorks.), Harland, 1873.

Midge.

Smudge, 'to smoulder.'

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright, 1892.

The transcription is Professor Wright's.

Edž, 'edge.'

Edž, 'hedge.'

Whitby (N.E. Yorks), Robinson, 1876.

Hedge-dike-side.

Hoose-midges, 'common flies.'

to Nudge with the elbow.

Sheffield, S. W. Yorks., Addy, 1888-90.

Fdge-o'-dark, 'twilight.'

Hedge and bind, 'in and out.'

Midge.

Midgeon-fat.

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easter, 1881.

Midge, 'a small gnat.'

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.

Badger, 'small retail dealer.'

Drage, 'damp.'

Edge o' dark.

Henridge } Ormskirk, 'outlet for

Hainridge } cattle.'

Midge, 'anything very small.'

S. Cheshire, Darlington, 1887.

Badge, 'to cut a hedge.'

Fodge, 'to botch.'

Drudge-box, 'flour-dredger.'

Edge, 'border.'

Edge } 'eager for.'

(and Egg) }

(H)edge.

(H)odge, 'paunch of a pig.'

Ledger, 'to warp wooden vessels in water.'

Modge } 'to go.'

(and Mog) }

Mudge-hole, 'soft, boggy place.'

Ridge.

Wedged, 'swelled.'

Derbysh., Pegge-Skeat, 1896.

Edge in place-names = 'rocks.'

Hedge.

Midge.

Sludge, 'mud.'

Snudge, 'to go unasked to an entertainment.'

N.E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Cradge, 'small bank to keep out water.'
 Dredge, 'a harrow of bushy thorns.'
 Ettidge = eddish, 'aftermath.'
 Fridge, 'to graze, chafe,' and in S.W. Lincs., which has Bodge, 'to mend, patch.'
 Kedge, 'belly, stomach.'
 Nudge, 'to follow closely.'
 Sludge, 'stiff mud.'
 In North Lincoln, Sutton, 1881, Kedge = 'stoppage of the bowels from green food.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Edge, 'ridge of a hill.'
 Hedge.
 Ledgen, 'to close seams of a wooden vessel by warping' (cf. 'the lags' of a tub).
 Midgen, 'omentum of a pig.'
 Sludge, 'wet mud.'
 Ridge } 'space of ploughed land.'
 Rudge }
 Wadge, 'a wedge, lump.'

Staffs., Poole, 1880.

Tadgel, 'to tie.'
 ? Leiger, 'under millstone.'

Leicestersh., Evans, 1881.

Badge, 'cut, and tie up beans in shocks.'
 Edge, 'keen, forward.'
 Edge, 'to incite, egg on.'
 Fadge { 1. 'to gull a person.'
 { 2. 'to toady.'
 Fridge, sb., 'chafe.'
 Hidgeler, 'higgler.'
 Midgeram-fat.
 Mudgings, 'fat about the intestines.'
 Nudging, 'nesting of birds.'
 Padge, 'barn-owl.'
 Pedgel, 'to pick over, examine.'
 Sludge, 'mire.'
 Wadge, 'lump, bundle.'

E. Angl., Rye, 1895.

Bodge, 'patch, botch.'
 Fadge, 'a bundle or parcel.'
 Hedge-pig, 'hedgehog.'
 Kedge, 'brisk, active.'
 to Nudge with the elbow.

Sedge-marine, 'sedge-warbler.'
 Swidge } 'to drain off, swill'; in
 (and Swig) } Dialect of E. Angl.,
 Nall, 1866.
 Ledger, 'a thatcher's tool.'

Herefordsh., Havergal, 1887.

Flidgeter: 'going a flidgeter' = 'taking a flying leap.'
 Hedge, 'bill.'
 Rudge of ploughed field.

Upton-on-Severn, Worcs., Lawson, 1884.

Mudgin, 'fat from chitterlings of a pig.'
 Ridgel } 'a half-gelding.'
 Rudge }
 Snudge, 'a kiss, to kiss,' and W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

S.E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Edge-o-night.
 Hedger.
 Mudgin.
 Ridgel.
 Sludge, 'liquid mud.'
 Snudge.
 Stodgy.

Warwesh., Northall., 1896.

Badger, 'jobbing dealer.'
 Bodge, 'prod with a pointed stick.'
 Fridge, 'to fray out.'
 Hudge, 'a heap, mass.'
 Hodge, 'stomach.'
 Modge, 'to muddle, confuse.'
 Mudgin, 'fat on pig's chitterlings.'
 Podgel, 'to trifle, dally.'
 Sludge-guts, 'person with prominent abdomen.'
 Spadger.
 Stodge, 'stuff and cram.'

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Birge, 'bridge' (nearly obs. in 1854).

Suff., Moor, 1823.

a Ridge of ploughed land.
 Swidge } said of a leak from a tap,
 (and Swig) } 'all of a swig.'

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

to Badge, 'to hawk.'
 Cludgy, 'thick, stout.'
 Edge.
 Edge on, adj., 'eager for.'
 Fadge, 'small bundle.'
 Mudgin, 'fat of pig's chitterlings.'
 Rudge, 'an imperfect gelding.'
 Ridge }
 Rudge }

Oxf., Parker, 1876-81.

Mudgerum.

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Begurge.
 Cadge, 'tramping.'
 Bulge, 'batter out of shape.'
 Burge, 'bridge.'
 Dredge, 'to sprinkle.'
 Edge, 'to egg on.'
 Edgment, 'incitement.'
 Fadge } 'sack of wool.'
 Fodge }
 Hedge-trow, 'ditch at side of hedge.'
 Kedge, 'boat's anchor.'
 Bare-ridged.
 Smudge, 'to smear.'
 Stodge, 'thick, doughy matter.'
 Urge, 'retch.'

Wexford, Poole-Barnes, 1867.

Bidge, 'to buy.'
 (This dialect is W. Southern type, but
 the glossary is very unreliable.)

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.

Badge, 'to deal in corn' (obs.).
 Edge.
 Dudge, 'bundle of anything used to
 stop a hole.'
 Dredge } 'barley and oats grown
 Drodge } together.'
 Fodge, 'small package of wool.'

Rudge, 'space between furrows of
 ploughed land.'
 Spudgel, 'wooden scoop.'

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Bodge, 'gardener's wooden basket.'
 Cledgy, 'wet, sticky' (of the ground).
 Dredge, 'a brush-harrow.'
 Fdget, 'kind of rake.'
 Snudge, 'to move about pensively.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Bodge, 'gardener's wooden basket.'
 Cledge, 'clay, stiff loam.'
 Dredge, 'a brush-harrow.'

W. Cornw., Courtney, 1880.

Clidgy, 'sticky.'
 Cock-hedge, 'trimmed thorn hedge.'

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Ledgers, 'rods used to keep thatch in
 its place.'
 Ridger } 'an uncut horse.'
 (also Rig) }

Hants., Cope, 1883.

Hedge picks, 'fruit of blackthorn.'
 Hudgy, 'clumsy.'
 Rudge-bone, 'weather-boarding of
 wooden houses.'
 Sidge 'sedge.'

I. of W., Smith, 1881.

Hedge-houn, 'a plant.'
 Ledgers, wood fastenings for thatch
 'layers.'

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Dredge, 'mixture of oats and barley.'
 Hedge-pick, 'hedge-sparrow.'
 Midge, 'any kind of gnat.'
 Ridge band, 'part of harness.'

VII.

Non-initial O.E. ζ and $h = w, f$, etc.*Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.*

Braffam }
 Briffam } 'horse-collar.'
 Barfam }
 Brough, 'moon-halo.'
 Couh, 'cough.'
 Daw, 'thrive.'
 Draa, 'to thrive.'
 Draft-net.
 Duff.
 Flaa, 'turf for fuel.'
 Flaughter, 'thin layer of turf.'
 Haa- } tree.
 Haw- }
 Haugh } 'low-lying ground by side
 Haaf } of river.'
 Heronsheugh }
 Heronseugh }
 Heronshuff }
 Hoff } 'to throw a ball below the
 Hough } hough.'
 Hough }
 Hou } 'hollow.'
 Hough }
 Laigh, 'low.'
 Low, 'flame.'
 Maa } 'stomach.'
 Maw }
 Marrow, 'fried,' etc.
 Pegh, 'to puff, pant.'
 Pleught } 'wattling-stick.'
 Ploute }
 Ploo } N. }
 Plew } } 'plough.'
 Pluf } T. }
 Pleuf } }
 Raa, 'row.'
 Ro }
 Roa } 'raw.'
 Row }
 Ruf }
 Rough }
 Saugh }
 Saf } 'willow.'
 Sauf }
 Seuch }
 Sheugh } 'small stream draining
 Sough } through the land.'
 Sough }
 Souh } 'sound of wind.'
 Souf }
 Teuf, 'tough.'

Through } 'a stone going through
 Thruff-styen } entire thickness of
 Throwf } wall.'
 Thruff, originally a stone coffin, now
 stone laid on a grave = 'trough'?
 Tocher }
 Togher } 'dowry.'
 Towcher }
 Trow } 'trough.'
 Trou }
 Wallow.

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Aneuff }
 Aneugh }
 Anoo }
 Braffam.
 Cleuh, 'claw, hoof.'
 Coff, 'to cough.'
 Huff.
 Hugh.
 Safftree.
 Saughtree, 'willow.'
 Troff, 'trough.'
 Thruff-stan, 'tombstone.'
 Thruff, 'through.'
 Teuff, 'tough.'
 Heugh, 'dry dell.'
 Bew, 'bough.'
 Haugh, 'flat land near river.'
 Haw, 'fruit of hawthorn.'
 Leugh, 'laughed.'
 Laghter, 'brood of chickens.'
 Plugh.
 Plu.
 Laa, 'law.'

Durham, Palgrave, 1896.

Doo, 'cake.'
 Eneugh = enjuuf.
 Marra, 'mate.'
 Nuwt, 'nothing.'
 Pluff, 'plough' (very seldom).

Swaledale, N. Yorks., Harland, 1873.

Dow, 'to thrive.'
 (H)awe, 'a meadow by a river.'
 Oawz, 'the hocks of a beast.'
 Barffam }
 Barfam }

Whitby, N.E. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Forms with *-f*.

Barfon, 'horse-collar.'
 Thruff, 'through.'
 Plufe, 'plough.'
 Sluffs, 'skins of fruit.'
 Siff } 'to draw breath through the
 Suff } teeth' (cog. with Sigh? or =
 Fr. Siffler?).
 Wilf, 'willow' (also in Marshall's
 E. Yorks., 1771).

Forms with *-w*.

Awn, 'to own.'
 Barrow-pigs.
 Farrow, said of a barren cow.
 Marrows, sb. pl.
 Sew, 'a sow.'
 Sou, of the wind = 'to calm down.'

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright.

The transcription is Professor Wright's.

Words with *-f*.

Dwāf, 'dwarf.'
 Duaf, 'dough.'
 Draft.
 Inif (sing.), 'enough.'
 Laf, 'laugh.'
 Sluf, 'slough.'
 Ruf, 'rough.'
 Trof, 'trough.'

Words with no final consonant.

Bā, 'to bow.'
 Biu, 'bough.'
 Droa, 'draw.'
 Fāl, 'fowl.'
 Fāld, 'fellow.'
 Iniu (pl.), 'enough.'
 Loā, 'law.'
 Mara, 'marrow.'
 Pliu, 'plough.'
 Sā, 'a drain.'
 Sliu, 'slew.'
 Wila, 'willow.'
 Poa, 'though.'

Mid Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Boo } 'bough.'
 Beaf }
 Dow, 'to prosper.'
 Ewe, pret. of 'to owe.'
 Fellow, 'fallow.'
 Low, 'flame.'

Marrow, 'match, fellow.'

Maw, 'sb.'

Meaf } 'a mow of corn, etc.'

Miff }

Pleaf }

Pluf }

Pleuf }

Pliw }

Plēa }

Plaw }

Sough, vb. (=saow), of the wind.

Huddersfield, W. Yorks., Easther, 1881.

Words with *-f*.

Clough, 'ravine' (cluff).
 Dough (dofe).
 Druity, 'dry, droughty.'
 Fauf } 'to clean ground for
 (and Faigh) } building.'

'saturated, soaked.'
 (An old man was
 heard to pronounce
 this word with a
 'guttural,' by
 which Mr. Easther
 presumably means
 a back-open con-
 sonant.)

Slaffened

(and Slockned)

Suff, 'to tire of.'

Soaf, 'willow.'

Words with consonant dropped.

Moo of barley, etc.

Marrow } 'to match.'

Marry }

Marrow, similar, 'the marrow glove.'

Soo, 'a sow.'

Ploo

(and Pleugh) }

*Sheffield, S.W. Yorks., Addy,
 1888-90.*

Enew, 'enough.'

Haw, 'berry of hawthorn.'

Marrow, 'fellow, mate,' etc.

Hay-mow.

Plew, 'plough.'

Soo of wind in trees, etc.

Trow, 'a trough.'

Suff, 'a drain.'

Sauf, 'sallow, willow.'

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1875.

Aan, adj., 'own.'

Barrow-pig, 'male swine.'

Marrow, 'a match, mate.'
 Hay-moo, 'stack of hay.'
 Moo } 'hay mow.'
 Moof }
 Laigh } 'to laugh.'
 Laith }
 Sawgh, 'willow.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Bow.
 Mow.
 Soo of the wind.
 Suff, 'to drain.'
 Flef and Fleth, 'a flea' (Holland).

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Barrow, 'a gelt pig' (obs.).
 Dūwter, 'daughter.'
 Slough =? 'miry place.'
 Coff, 'cough.'
 Draft, 'team or cart.'
 Enuff.
 (H)offle, 'hough of a horse.' Dimin.

N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Aniff, 'enough.'
 Biff, 'bough.'
 Enif, 'enough.'
 Sluff, 'skin of a fruit.'
 Toff, 'tough.'
 Thrif } 'through'; also in S.W.
 Thruf } Lincs.
 Tiffen, 'make touch.'
 S.W. Lincs., Cole, 1886, has Daffy,
 'doughy'; Suff., 'underground
 drain.'
 Awe, 'to owe.'
 Beu } 'bough'; back-open cons.
 Bewgh } usually heard in this word.
 Bow, 'to bend.'
 Draw, 'to drain.'
 Haw, 'fruit of hawthorn.'
 Hollow.
 Maw, 'to mow.'
 Mow (rhymes with 'now'), 'pile of
 hay, etc., in a barn.'
 Pleugh } gh still heard, but
 Ploo } disappearing.
 Raw, adj.
 Rough = ? (in sound).
 Scəw?, 'to sow.'
 Souing of the wind.
 Saugh (sau), 'goat willow.'
 Tallow.

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Hathorn, 'hawthorn.'
 Haw, 'fruit of same.'
 Lawter, 'complement of eggs for a
 sitting hen.'

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Haw, in place-names.
 Hairrough } 'goose-grass.'
 and Errif }
 Enew, 'enough.'
 Suff } 'a covered drain.'
 Soof }

W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

Ah-thorn, 'hawthorn.'
 Enew } 'enough.'
 Enow }
 Plow.
 Suff, 'a drain.'

S. E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Burru, 'sheltered place' (also in Upton-
 on-Severn, Lawson, 1884).
 Enow.
 Mow, 'part of barn filled with straw.'
 Loff, 'laugh.'
 Ruff, 'hilly ground with trees growing
 on it.'
 Saw, 'the tool.'
 Throw (rhymes with cow) 'through.'

Warwesh., Northall., 1896.

Anew, 'enough.'
 Rough (ruff).
 Suff, 'mouth of drain with grating.'
 Truff } 'a trough.'
 Tro }

Northamptonsh., Baker, 1854.

Cuff, 'cough.'
 Sueing } of wind.
 Suffing }

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Burrow, 'shelter or lee side.'
 Droo, 'through.'
 Ebows, 'shoulder-joints of cattle.'
 Fallow.
 Slough, 'part of quick of a cow's horn.'
 Trough (= trow) for drinking.

Oxf., Parker, 1870-81.

Fuwwt, 'fought.'
Pluuwin, 'ploughing.'

Berks., Lowsley, 1888.

Haw, 'dwelling enclosed by woods.'
Zaa, 'a saw.'

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Barrow-pig, 'gelt pig.'
Bow (buw), 'a twig.'
Bow (buw), 'to bend.'
Dough (doa).
to Draw.
Draft, 'bar to which plough-horses are attached.'
Drough (drue) 'through.'
Drow (Druw), 'to dry.'
Enow, 'enough.'
Laugh (laa'of).
Maw: mouth in men, stomach in cattle.
Mow (maew), 'rick.'
Ought = au.t or au.f.
Plough (plaew).
Raught (raut), 'reached.'
Raw.
Rew, 'row or ridge of grass made in scything.'
Rough (hruuf).
Row (ruw), 'to roughen cloth.'
Sife, 'to sigh.'
Thawy, 'to thaw.'
Thoff, 'though.'

Dorset, Barnes, 1886.

Sify, 'a sob, catch the breath in sighing.'

Wilts., Dartnell and Goddard, 1893.

Draw, 'a squirrel's nest.'
Drawn, 'large drain.'
Pig-haw.
Mow, 'part of barn for heaping up corn.'
Rough = f?
Spawe, 'splinter of stone.'

Surrey, Leveson-Gower, 1896.

Farrow, 'litter of pigs.'

Kent, Parish and Shaw, 1887.

Draaft, 'bar on plough to which traces are fixed.'
Dwarfs-money, 'ancient coins.'
Huffed, p.p. (also 'very great').
to Huff (spelt hough), 'to hough.'
Ruff, 'any rough place.'
Thoft, 'thought.'
Draw-well.
Draw-hook.
Enow.
Flaw, 'to flay, strip off bark.'
Haw, 'small'?
Raw.

W. Corn., Courtney, 1880.

? Belve, 'to bellow.'
Laff, 'laugh.'

Budget of C. Poems.

Broft, 'brought,' 45.
Thoft, 'thought,' 16.

E. Cornw., Couch, 1880.

Maa, 'maw.'
Row, 'rough.'
Siff, 'to sigh.'

Hants., Cope, 1883.

Huf, 'to breathe hard.'
Mow (múw), 'stack in a barn.'
Rowen } 'winter grass'; cf. ruffen,
Rowet } other dialects.
Trow (troa), 'a trough.'

I. of W.

Maa, 'maw.'

Sussex, Parish, 1879.

Flaw, 'to flag, to strip bark.'
Haffar, 'heifer.'

VIII.

Non-initial O.E. $-z$ and $-h$ fronted and lost or = $-y$.

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-94.

Ee, 'eye.'
Flee, 'to fly.'
Flee, 'a fly.'
Feid, 'feud' (O.E. *fiehpē*).
Wully, 'willow.'

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Ee, 'eye.'
Een, 'eyes.'
Hee, 'high.'
Ley, 'arable land.'
Lee, 'to tell lies.'
Stee } 'a ladder.'
Stey }
Swally, 'to swallow.'
Willy, 'willow.'

Swaledale, N. Yorks., Harland, 1873.

Ee, 'eye.'
Felly.
Lee, 'a lie.'

Whitby, N. E. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Eee } 'eye.'
Eyen }
Eeen } pl.
Flee, 'a fly, to fly.'
Stee, 'small ladder.'

*Windhill, N. Central Yorks.,
Wright, 1892.*

The transcription is that of Prof. Wright.

Drai, 'dry.'
Dri, 'dreary.'
Ei, 'high.'
Fli, 'a fly, to fly.'
Led, 'lay.'
Nei, 'to neigh.'
Sti, 'ladder.'

Huddersfield, W. Yrks., Easther, 1881.

Ee, 'eye.'
Fain, 'glad.'
Stee, 'a ladder.'

Sheffield, S. W. Yrks., Addy, 1888-90.

Flee, 'a fly.'
Lee, 'a falsehood.'

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Fley, 'flay.'
Fly.
(H)igh.
Lee, vb. act., 'lay down.'
Swey, 'to swing.'

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1876.

Ee-bree, 'eyebrow.'
Ley, 'pasture or grass land.'
Stee, 'a ladder.'

N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Belly.
Dee, 'to die.'
Dry, 'thirsty.'
Eye.
Flee, 'a fly.'
Lay, 'to lie.'
Lee, sb. and vb., 'lie.'
Ley, 'unenclosed grass land.'
Stays, 'stairs.'
Stee, 'ladder.'
Thee, 'thigh.'
Wee, 'to weigh.'

S. W. Lincs., Cole, 1886.

Dree, 'wearisome, long-continued.'

Upton-on-Severn (Worcs.), Lawson, 1884.

Eye, 'to glance at.'
Lie in, 'to cost': "that will lie you
in a matter of 16s.," etc.

W. Worcs., Chamberlain, 1882.

Sallies, 'willows.'

S. E. Worcs., Salesbury, 1893.

Belly-full.
Dry, 'thirsty.'
Farry, 'to farrow.'
Sallies, 'willows.'

Warwesh., Northall., 1896.

Lay } 'land laid down for pasture.'
Ley }
Pig-ste, -sty.
Sigh = sai.
Sty, 'a pimple.'

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Eye, 'to glance.'
Layers, pieces of wood cut and laid in
a hedge when 'laying' it.
Lay, 'pasture.'
Sally-tree } 'willow.'
Sally }

IX.

Final -k, voiced.

Northumb., Heslop, 1893-4.

Ag, 'to hack, cut in pieces.'
Flag, 'flake of sandstone, also a snow-
flake.'
Ligly, 'likely.'
Nog, 'knob,' etc., like the stump of
a branch.
Pag, 'to pack tightly, to stop up,
choke.'
Iceshoggie (O.E. *zycel*).

Cumberland, Dickinson, 1859.

Hug, 'to pull.'
Hag, 'chop with an axe.'
Huggaback, 'climbing vetch.'
Nog, 'block of wood'; cf. nick,
nitch, etc.

Windhill, N. Central Yorks., Wright, 1892.

Blegs, 'blackberries.'

Whitby, N. E. Yorks., Robinson, 1876.

Flags, 'flakes.'

Huddersfield, Yorks., Easther, 1881.

Blags, 'black berries.'
Wiggen, 'mountain ash.' Cf. Wicken,
Lincs, etc.

Lancs., Nodal and Milner, 1876.

Snig, 'to snatch' (cf. Snack, etc.)?

S. Chesh., Darlington, 1887.

Plug, 'to pluck the hair.'

Derbysh., Pegge—Skeat, 1896.

Wiggin, 'mountain-ash.'

N. E. Lincs., Peacock, 1889.

Staggarth = 'stackyard.'
Niggle, 'to hack, notch.'

Shropsh., Jackson, 1879.

Plug = 'to pluck, pull.'
Smeg, 'a bit,' cf. 'smack' ?
Rig, 'to rick the back,' etc.

Leices., Evans, 1881.

Iggle = 'icicle.'
Piggle, 'to pick.'
Proggle
(and Prockle) } 'to prog, poke.'
Snags = snacks, which also occurs.'

Rutland, Wordsworth, 1891.

Piggle, 'to pick' (frequentative form).

Upton-on-Severn, Worcs., Lawson,
1884.

Rig, 'to sprain, rick' (used chiefly of the back, and perhaps influenced by substantive).

Glos., Robertson, 1890.

Dog, 'the dock.'

? Nogs, 'handles of a scythe pole.'

Sug, 'to soak.'

Soggy, 'soaky.'

Berks, Lowsley, 1888.

Agg, 'to cut unskilfully.

Hants, Cope, 1883.

Agg, 'to hack.'

W. Somers., Elworthy, 1886.

Hug, 'to itch' = *ȝiccan*. Cf. Heuk, 'the itch,' in Whitby Dial. (O.E. *ȝicða*).

Lig, 'like' (in rapid speech when followed by a vowel).

Nog, 'log, block.' Cf. nitch in same dial. and in Wilts.

Pog, 'thrust, poke with fist.'

*A proposed Explanation of many apparent Anomalies in the
Development of O.E. -ċ, -ċz, -z and -h.*

I now propose to deal, as briefly as is compatible with thoroughness, with the above four classes of words. We may take as types of the forms under discussion Mod. Eng. seek, think; O.E. seċean, þyncēan; Eng. Dial. brig, segg; O.E. bryċz, seċz; Eng. Dial. hag, to lig; O.E. haꝥu, a haw; liċzan, 3rd sing. liꝥþ, from which the standard Eng. verb 'to lie' has been formed, and also the above 'irregular' form. Of difficult -h words, Eng. hock (hough), elk; O.E. hóh, éolh are examples.

We have to explain how *ċ* and *ċz* have become unfronted, and how -z and -h have been stopped, instead of becoming -w, -f if back, being opened to a front vowel if front, or being lost altogether after *l*.

The explanation which I desire to offer of these two groups of phenomena may be diagrammatically stated as follows:—

- O.E. *ċ* + *f, s, þ, w, l*, etc. = *k*.
 O.E. *ċz* + *f, s, þ, w, l*, etc. = *k, g*.
 O.E. *z* + *f, s, þ, w, l*, etc. = *k, g*.
 O.E. *h* + *f, s, þ, w, l*, etc. = *k*.

That is to say, that before an OPEN CONSONANT O.E. *ċ* and *ċz* are unfronted, and that in the same position O.E. *z* and *h* are stopped. This principle applies not only to the combinations -hþ, iþ, etc., in the middle of words, but also to the same combinations occurring in primitive compounds such as hæzþorn, standard English hawthorn, Dial. haghthorn. See also my article "Apparent Irregularities in English Guttural Sounds": *Notes and Queries*, January 14, 1899.

Date of above Changes.

The stopping of *h* and *z* before open consonants certainly began in O.E. There were apparently two periods of stopping, the first in which Germ. *hs* became *x* = *ks* (see remarks ante on O.E. *x*) and a later period which followed the apocopation of the vowel in W.S. *siext* (vb.), *nexte*, etc. To this later period belongs also

probably the unfronting of O.E. *i* and *iz* before *þ*, *s*, etc. At any rate the whole process is apparently complete by the early M.E. period, and we find thenceforth only fossilized remains of the process itself, although the effects produced by it are numerous and widespread.

Analogous to the first process which stopped *h* before *s*, is the stopping of *f* to *þ* before *-s*, in O.E. *wæps* from earlier *wæfs*. Forms like *awecð*=*awihþ*, Ælfric, Cambridge MS., first sermon, p. 8, ed. Thorpe; where MS. Reg. has *awehð*, (Dr. Sweet called my attention to this form), and *adrycð*, Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, vol. iii, p. 190 = *adryzþ* show that *z* also underwent this change in the O.E. period. It must be noted that *z* before a voiceless open consonant was unvoiced as well as stopped, the former process being the earlier.

It is, however, in M.E. that we find the best graphic evidence of these unfronting and stopping processes. Both Sweet, H.E.S., § 741, and, following him, Kluge, *Grundr.*, p. 839, have called attention to the forms *sekþ*, *tekþ*, etc., in M.E., and explained *seek*, etc., as formed by analogy from them. The unfronting process is attributed by both Sweet and Kluge to a following consonant. In this explanation, however, the real point is missed, as we shall see: O.E. *i* is unfronted only before OPEN CONSONANTS, but becomes *-eh* quite regularly before stops.

Again, on p. 848 of *Grundr.*, Kluge says: "Beachtenswert ist nördl. *heker* für *haifare*, ae. *hēahfore*, wozu vereinzelt *wrikþ*, *likþ* für *wrihþ*, *lihþ*." Of these forms, however, no explanation is given at all, and neither here nor on p. 839 is there any hint as to which texts the forms occur in. *Heker*, we may here remark, is certainly not a Northern form, as far as the testimony of the modern dialects goes. Following is a list of these forms so far as I have found them.

Hali Meidenhed, W. Midl., 1225, has *zecðe*, sb., 9. On the other hand this text has also *h* unstopped in *buhsom*, 3, *hehschip*, 5, *Sihðe*, 45, *sight*. The only other Midland texts in which they occur are *Promptorium*, which has *hekfere*, *thakstare*, *zykþe* (*pruritus*); and *Wills and Inventories*, which has *heckforde* in the Will of Richard Kanan of Isham, 1570.

Ancren Riwele, Dorset, 1225, has *heixte*, *hexte*, *highest*.

Orol and Nightingale, Dorset, 1240-50, has *recþ*, 491 (otherwise *recche*); *me þincþ*, *passim*; *þinkþ*, 1694; *flizst*, 405, which rhymes to *niswicst* in the following line, and therefore = **flikst*.

St. Juliana (metrical), Glos., 1300, hext, highest, 13.

Robt. of Gloucester, 1300: adrencþe, heest, hext; isucþ = seeth; secþ, seeketh, slaxþ, 3rd pl.; sucst, sucþ, suxt, seest; þincþ, þinkþ, þingþ; ofþincþ, ofþinkþ.

P. Plowman, 1362-93: lickth, 3rd sing.; þu lixt, 'thou tellest lies'; likþ, 'tells lies.' *Kentish Gospels*, 1150: seest þu, Joh. iv, 27; for scrincð, Mk. ix, 18. *MS. Vespas*, A. 22, Kent, 1200: zesecðe (sb.), 'sight' p. 239, Morris' ed. *Vices and Virtues*, Kent, 1200: meþincþ, 47. 3 and 47. 20; zesikst, 'seest,' 49. 22; isikþ 'sees,' 49. 23; isecþ, 87. 17; beþencst, wercst, 65. 7; besekþ, 81. 18; zesikþ, 139. 11; beþeincð, 133. 17. *Will. of Shoreham*, Kent, 1308: þenkþ. *Ayenbite*, Kent, 1340: aquencþ, 207, and kuencþ, 62; tekþ occurs constantly, p. 57, etc.; wrikþ, 128; zekþ, 'seeks,' 159. 116, 241; awrecþ, 115. 2; yzicþ, 'sees,' 143; zikþ, 'sight,' 123; þingþ and þincþ, 164; adraynkþ þengþ, 18; þengst, 214. *Libeaus Desconus*, Kent, 1350: schincþ, 939.

The chief examples in the Modern dialects of old compounds in which the process occurred are: hagthorn in W. Somerset and Devon; hagworm in Cumberland and Lancashire; heckth or eckth = 'height' in Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Wilts, and Hants; heckfer in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Hants; ligster, 'liar' in Oxfordshire.

In Standard English *eɪ* is unfronted before *-w* in mugwort, (it must also be said that this word also exists in Northern dialects, and Scotch has muggart), and *nɜ* before *þ* in 'length' and 'strength' = *strongiðu, *longiðu.

We have seen that *-ɜs* was sometimes written, even when it was clearly pronounced *-ks* (above, Owl and Nightingale); it is therefore probable that in those dialects where we find evidence of the change at all, we should be justified in assuming *ks kþ*, etc., on all occasions, even when *-ɜs*, *-ɜð*, *ks*, etc., are written.

A glance at the lists of *-nch* words from St. Katherine, and St. Juliana (Prose), will show that before a stop, *ç* became *ch*, giving forms like *cwenchte*, *blenchte*, *schrenchten*, etc. We have also seen that the tendency was rather to open a front stop before a second stop, giving such forms as *pright*, *pight*, etc., from **pricchen* and **picchen*.

From the evidence of the M.E. texts, it is clear that the processes we have been describing were essentially characteristic of the W.S. and Kentish dialects. There is very little evidence

that the stopping and unfronting principle obtained, even in Midland dialects. It must, however, be borne in mind that Orm has *ennŷell* and not *ennge*ll, which Mr. Napier has explained as due to the oblique cases, *engle*, etc., and *ennŷlish*, *lennŷre* also owe their *ŷ* to the following open consonant. Again, we have *hekfore* and *zykþe* in *Promptorium*. In West Midland, Hali Meidenhed has *zecðe*, so that it is possible that the principle was once active also in the Lower Midland dialects; on the other hand, these forms may have spread thither from the South. As for the North, there can be little doubt that the tendency did not exist there at all. On the contrary, the combination *hs* produced by vowel syncope was simplified to *s* in Anglian, though retained in W. Saxon and Kentish (H.E.S., § 504), in which dialects, as we have seen, it later on became *-ks*, *x*. An interesting point is raised as to whether even the Germ. combination *-hs* became *-ks* universally in all Northern dialects, for in the Huddersfield dialect such forms as *ouse* = *ox*, *saycece* = *six* have only recently become extinct, while *aise* = *axe* still survives. (See Easther's *Dialect of Almondsbury and Huddersfield*, E.D.S., 1881.) It is interesting and important to note that Sir Gawaine, a Northern text, 1366, has the form *Haḡ-thorne*, with *ḡ* the open consonant, instead of *g* the stop. (See *Word-List ante*).

But a principle which holds for the middle of words, and for primitive compounds, may without undue rashness be assumed also for the sentence or breath-group. (Cf. H.E.S., §§ 39 and 40; and Siever's *Phonetik*, §§ 573-590.) If people made *secst* into *sekst*, they would also make *iç sæzde* into *ik sæzde*. That such a system of *Satz-phonetik* really did obtain is almost impossible to prove, because in O.E., when the principle was a living one, the orthography did not consistently distinguish between *i* and *e*, etc.; while by the M.E. period, when graphical distinctions of sounds were more definite, the principle had ceased to be active. Hoping to find some indications that such a system of sentence sandhi had once existed, I carefully counted all examples, both of *iç* and *ich*, in MS. Hatton 38, and in the printed edition of *Vices and Virtues*, to see whether the forms were used according to any law. There is no doubt that the normal form for the dialect of the Hatton Gospels was *ich*, therefore it is *iç* which has to be explained. It may be said that this spelling is due to the earlier original upon which this copy of the Gospels is based, and this may be the case to a great extent; still, it is

a curious fact that of 108 examples of this form which I counted, 63 occur before open consonants, only 20 before stops, and 25 before vowels and *h*. For *ich* there seems to be no rule, this being evidently the normal form, and it is used indifferently before stops, open consonants, and vowels. The results from Vices and Virtues were practically the same. *Ich* seems to be used indiscriminately, but *ic* occurs chiefly before open consonants. I give these facts for what they are worth, without attaching any very great importance to them; they may not absolutely prove, but in any case they rather confirm than contradict, the theory that doublets could be produced in the sentence itself by the influence of initial sounds upon the final consonant of preceding words. In the face of the curious mixture of back and front forms in all dialects, it appears to me that the only satisfactory explanation will be one which will account for double forms of each word, one form with *-k* or *-g*, another with *-c* or *-c̣z*. My theory, even if it be only admitted for single words and primitive compounds, will do this for a great many words, as far as the Southern dialects are concerned, and may perhaps also be extended to the South Midland. In some cases a *-k* or *-g* may be developed in compounds, and survive in the simple form. But with regard to *lig*, *thack*, *brig*, etc., in the North, a strange dilemma arises.

The theory of Scandinavian origin may explain some of these forms, but cannot explain them all; in fact, if it were assumed for all 'irregular' words, there need be no further discussion. Kluge's view that the *-k* and *-g* forms are due to a regular unfronting in the North of O.E. *c̣* and *c̣z* (by a process, by the way, the details of which are not stated), is hardly supported by much evidence. The existence of so many *-ch* and *-dge* words at all in the North would need to be explained in this case. Besides, we have shown in the word-lists that many *-k* and *-g* words are not typically Northern, but occur also in the South. And yet we cannot regard these forms as produced independently in the North by the same process which we have seen could, and did, produce them in the South. There is nothing left, therefore, but to suppose that the 'anomalous' forms were produced in the South, under the conditions already stated, and that they slowly spread to the Northern dialects, where they eventually became the chief forms, the fronted varieties being eliminated. I can but admit that this seems improbable at first sight, for it will be said that such wholesale borrowing cannot be accounted for. But, after all, the

old theory which assumed that all the fronted forms in the North were borrowed from the South, and that all the *-k* and *-g* forms in Southern dialects were borrowed from the North, is in reality quite as improbable; in fact, such a theory is disproved, I think, by the evidence I have already adduced of the existence of back and front forms side by side in the same dialects, both North and South.

Again, there is no difficulty in assuming that forms produced in the South and South Midlands should go northwards—in the West up the valley of the Severn, in the East from Norfolk and Lincolnshire. Then, it may be asked how it is that the South got rid of most of these forms, in answer to which I again appeal to the word-lists, to show rather how many of them were kept. It is admitted that even if we take all these arguments into consideration, this theory of extensive borrowings from the South is unsatisfactory; but all I can say is, that in spite of all its defects, it seems to me to present fewer difficulties than any view hitherto advanced. This theory may be improbable, but the others are manifestly impossible.

We have certain phenomena, commoner in some dialects, it is true, than in others, but still existing in all. I have endeavoured to show that these phenomena were originally produced by factors (word and sentence sandhi) which it is not disputed have produced sound-changes in other cases; I have attempted to explain the wide distribution of the phenomena so produced by the simple process of borrowing from one dialect into another, a principle which is certainly not a new one. The question of why the Southern dialects should have (on the whole) preferred the *-dge* and *-ch* forms, and why the Northern dialects should (on the whole) have eliminated them, and preferred the *-g* and *-k* forms, belongs to a different order of curious inquiry.

Notes on some Doubtful or Difficult Words.

Standard Engl., *brittle*. I identify this word with the dialectal brichel, brickle, bruckle, etc. M.E. has brucchel (in Hali Meidenhed for instance), this would = O.E. brycēl; brickle, on the other hand, would = O.E. brycle, etc., in oblique cases. Such doublets as mickle and muchel are also to be explained in this way. In O.E. brycēl, etc., *ċ* would in the South be unfronted before *l*, but in the North Midland and North would remain

a front-stop; the difference in sound between this and the point-teeth consonant is not great, and the combination *-cl* is an awkward one. Or brittle may have been derived in the South from brycle (where *-cl* = *-kl*) by the not uncommon change of *k* to *t*. (See list of examples of this change.) For other views see brittle in N.E.D.

To lig, etc. Piers Plowman has lickþ, lixt, and from this would be derived stem *lic-*. This form still survives in West Somerset (Elworthy), *lic-abed*, 'a sluggard.' Cursor Mundi also has *likand* by the side of *ligand* = 'lying.' But in West Somerset there are several examples of *-k* becoming *-g*, cf. *hug*, 'to itch,' stem *ik-* (*ikþe*, etc.); *pog*, 'to poke' (which shows that the change is M.E. at all events); *lig* = 'like'; *nog* = 'log of wood,' cf. *nitch*. Thus *lik-* would quite naturally become *lig* in the Southern dialects, and this explanation accounts for *lig*, and rather tends to show that it is not 'Northern' in origin. For other examples of *-k* becoming *-g*, see list: "Voicing of final *-k*."

Elk. Mr. Bradley will not have it that this word is historically connected with O.E. *éolh*, but says that it must be borrowed from some Continental form at a comparatively late date (see *Elk* in N.E.D.). On the other hand in the Co. Down a seal is called a *selk*, O.E. *seolh*. This is the pronunciation of the word at Kilkeel, where I heard it often, and paid particular attention to the sounds. (The *k* is the front variety of the back stop, and the *l* is also pronounced clear, with arched tongue as in French.)

In the glossary for Down and Antrim (E.D.S., Patterson, 1880), the word is written 'selch.' I would suggest that both of these words represent the O.E. forms, and that the *k* in both cases arose before an open consonant, either in a compound, or in the sentence. The O.E. form *eolhx secg* (Hickes, Thes., p. 135) does not inspire confidence, especially as the MS. (Cott., Otho, B. x) is lost (see Kemble, Archæologia, p. 339). In the Bibl. d. A.-S. Poesie (Grein Wülcker, 1881, Bd. i, p. 334) the Runic poem is reprinted and the form discussed. Wülcker prints *eolh secg* simply, and says that the *x* was probably added by Hickes himself, and has nothing to do with *eolh*.

He regards it as rather an explanatory note on the value of the rune Υ . On the other hand, this plausible explanation is rather upset by the fact that *eolx secg* occurs in a glossary of the tenth or eleventh century (Wright-Wülcker, p. 271, 21). Therefore I think we may regard the *x* as genuine. I should explain this as = *ks*,

and should prefer to regard the form as a nominative. In this case the *s* of *sege* is a redundancy. In the same way *selk* may be due to such an old compound as *seolhwæd*, where *h + w* would = *kw*-. I do not, of course, assert that *selk* and *elk* cannot be explained in any other way than above, but up to the present none has been suggested which would account for the *k*. My explanation, at any rate, does this. I am compelled by want of space to reserve until another occasion, publishing some remarks I have put together on several other difficult words.

X

LISTS SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF SIXTY-THREE WORDS IN THE
MODERN DIALECTS.

Brickle }
 Bruckle } 'brittle.'
 Brockle }
 Brackly }

Northumb., Lancs., N.E. Lincs.,
 Shropsh., E. Angl., Suff. Worcs.,
 Northamptonsh., Beds., Somers.,
 Berks., Kent, Dorset, Hants., I of W.

Dike.

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Derbysh.,
 N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Leices.,
 Rutl., E. Angl.

Muckle }
 Mickle }

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs.,
 Wilts., Berks.

Cleek }
 Click } 'to clutch, snatch.'
 Cluck, etc. }

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs.,
 N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.

Sic } 'such.'
 Sec }

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yrks., N.E.
 Yrks., W. Yrks.

Cleek } 'clutch' or 'brood' of
 Cluck } chickens.

Northumb., N.E. Lincs.

Fleek } 'fitch.'
 Flick }

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh.,
 Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.,
 Leices., E. Angl., Suff., Northampt.,
 Somers., Wilts., Hants., I. of W.

Smack, 'taste.'

Northumb., Derbysh., Gloucester.

Diek } 'ditch.'
 Deek }

E. Angl., N.E. Lincs., Somers.,
 Surrey, Kent, Hants., Sussex.

Pik, 'pitch,' 'tar.'

Northumb., Cumb., Derbysh., N.E.
 Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Leices.

Snack, 'hasty meal,' 'share,' etc.

Cumb., Durh., Derbysh., N.E.
 Lincs., Herefordsh., Somers., Berks.

Reek = 'smoke,' sb. and vb.

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh.,
 Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., Rutl., Suff.,
 Northampt., Surrey.

Reek } 'to reach.'
 Reik }

Windhill, S. Yrks.

Steek, 'a stitch.'
Stik.

Northumb.

Beseek.

Northumb.

Streek } 'to stretch,'
Straik } 'a stretch.'

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yrks., Mid
Yrks., E. Engl.

Yeke }
Yeuk } 'to itch.'
Yuck }
Ukey, 'itching.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., N.E.
Yrks., Mid Yrks., S. Yrks. (eek, 'to
itch'), S.W. Lincs. (Somers. has hug
'to itch,' which = *uk; see remarks
above on voicing of final k.)

Thak } 'thatch,'
Theak } 'to thatch.'

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally,
Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs.,
Leices., Rutl., E. Engl., W. Worcs.,
Warwcs., Northampt., Beds.

Tweak } 'twitch,' etc.
Twike }

Northumb., S. Cheshire, Shropsh.,
Leices.

Birk.

Northumb., Cumb., Lancs., Yrks.
generally, Derbysh., N.E. Lincs.,
S.W. Lincs.

Clink, 'to clinch.'
Clinker, 'clincher.'

Northumb., Yrks., S. Chesh.,
S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., E. Engl.

Kirk.

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally,
Derbysh., N.E. Lincs.

Kink, 'a twist,' etc.

Cumb., Yrks., Chesh., N.E. Lincs.,
Leices., E. Engl., W. Somers., Kent,
Sussex, I. of W.

Benk } 'bench.'
Bink }

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Yrks.,
Lancs., I. of Man, Staff., N.E. Lincs.,
Northampt.

Belk, 'belch.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Yrks.,
Lancs., N.E. Lincs., W. Somers.,
E. Corn., W. Corn.

Wink, 'winch.'

W. Somers., Dorset.

Crink } small apple, anything very
Crinkets } small.

Westm., Chesh., Warwcs., Shropsh.,
Glos.

Cletch, }
Clutch, etc. } a brood of chickens.

Northumb., Durh., Lancs., N. Yrks.,
N.E. Yrks., Mid Yrks., S.W.
Lincs., E. Engl., Suff., Herefordsh.,
Sussex.

Keach, 'to heave up.'

Northumb. only.

But *кэок*, 'to be sick,' in Herefordsh., Glos., Wilts.; Berks. (= to make choky noise in throat); Hants. = 'to retch,' I. of W. 'to choke.'

Seech, 'to seek.'

Lancs., Chesh.

Does not appear to exist in any Southern dialects.

Nicher, 'to neigh.'

Northumb.

But nicker in Kent and Sussex, nucker in Surrey.

Reechy, 'smoky,' etc.

Reech, 'steam,' etc.

S. Yorks., Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Warwcs.

Smatch, 'flavour.'

Mid Yorks., S. Yorks. (Lancs. has smouch, 'a kiss'), S. Chesh., Derby., Leices., Warwcs., Oxf., Hants.

Aitch, 'ache.'

Chesh., Shropsh.

Pritch,
Pritchel.

Shropsh., E. Angl., Wores., Northampt., Glos., Kent, Dev., S.W. of Ireland.

Snatch, 'hasty meal, small piece,' etc.

Leices., Glos. (= nasty flavour, confused with smatch?), Berks.

Blatch } = the black grease in
Bletch } wheels, etc.

Chesh., Shropsh., Staffs., Glos., Wilts., Dors., Hants.

Britchel } 'brittle.'
Britcha }

Lancs., Yorks., S. Chesh., Derbysh., Shropsh.

Kench = kink, 'to twist, sprain,' etc.

Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Staffs., Suff., Warwcs.

Linch = 'link,' a field, a wooded bank, etc.

Glos., W. Somers., Dors., Wilts., Berks., Kent.

Worch } vb. and sb.
Warch }

Lancs., Chesh., Shropsh.

Skinch = 'to help to, to stint.'

Durh. (= 'shut up!'), N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., E. Angl.

Scrinch } 'a morsel, anything very
Crinchlings } small.'

S. Chesh., E. Angl., Warwcs., Oxf.

Brig, 'bridge.'

Northumb., Cumb., Yrks. generally, Lancs. (North and Mid), Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Leices., Rutl., E. Angl., Northamptonsh., Beds.



Segg, etc., 'sedge.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., N.E. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices., E. Angl., Suffolk, Herefordsh., Worcs., Upton-on-Severn and S.W. Worcs., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Glouces.

Hig, etc. = O.E. hyge.

Northumb., Lancs., Yrks. generally, Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs.

Egg = edge, 'to urge,' 'incite.'

Cumb., Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Warwcs., Beds., Sussex.

Migg, 'midge.'

Windhill.

Lig { 'tell lies,'
'a lie.'

Westm., W. Yorks., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Leices., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Beds., Oxfordsh. (ligster, 'liar').

Flig, fleg, etc., 'fledge.'

Northumb., Durh., Chesh., Derbysh., N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices., E. Angl., Warwcs., Northamptonsh., Beds., Oxfd.

Clag, cleg, claggy, etc. = 'to stick, sticky'; also = 'sticky mass.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs., Yorks., Chesh., S.W. Lincs., Leices., E. Angl., Warwcs., W. Somers., W. Corn. (clig, vb., and cligged).

Whig, 'whey.'

Northumb., S. Chesh., Derbysh., S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Northamptonsh.

Rig = ridge, 'back.'

Northumb., Cumb., Durh., Lancs., Yorks., Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., Leices., Rutl., E. Angl., Northamptonsh., Wilts. (?).

Lig { 'to lie down,'
'to lay.'

Northumb., Cumb., N. Yorks., Mid Yorks., S. Yorks., Lancs., Derbysh., N.E. Lincs., S.W. Lincs., Shropsh., Leices., E. Angl., Somers. (lic-a-bed).

Snig
Snag } 'snail, small eel.'
Sneg }

Lancs., S. Chesh., Shropsh., Leices., Wilts., E. Corn., Sussex.

Hag
Egg, etc. } 'haw-berries,' etc.

Lancs., Derbysh., Wilts., Berks. (haggas), W. Corn. (aglet), E. Corn. (eglet), Hants.

(G)nag, 'to gnaw.'

N.E. and S.W. Lincs., Leices.

Sag, 'to saw.'

Yorks.: Huddersfield, Windhill.

Meg } 'maw.'
Mog }

W. Somers. (mugget = outer stomach of calf).

Midge, etc.

Northumb., Cumb., Westm., Durh., E. Yorks. (Marshall), Lancs., Chesh., Derbysh., Sussex, etc.



Cledge,
Cledgy, etc.

Glos., Surrey, Kent, W. Corn., Derb.

To edge on.

Leices., W. Somers.

Fledger, 'fledgeling.'

Northumb.

Bidge, 'to buy.'

Occurs only in Wexford (Poole, 1867). This is a very unreliable glossary, based on collections made many years before. Therefore many words were already obsolete by 1867.

The following are the chief anomalous words in Standard English in k and g.

Words with *k* where we should expect *ch*; *k* formed by analogy.

Ache.

Cluck (of hens).

Prick, sb. and vb.

Reck, vb., 'to care.'

Reek, sb. and vb.

Seek.

Shriek.

Smack, 'taste.'

Snack, sb.

Stick, vb.

Tweak.

Wake.

Bishop-rick.

O.E. *z* = *ck*. Warlock.

O.E. *nē*, *rē*.

Links = 'fields': cf. lynch in Glos.,

Somers., etc.

Think, vb.

Work, vb.

O.E. *h* = *k*.

Elk (kind of deer).

Fleck, 'a spot.'

Hock.

Hickwall } 'woodpecker.'

Hickel }

O.E. *z*, *g*, and *cz* = *g*.

Drag, vb. (Scandinavian?).

Egg, sb. (Scandinavian?).

Mugwort.

Sag, 'to droop.'

Slug.

Twig.



1890



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